

EXCLUSIVE: Ranking the Prime Ministers **SPACE:** Signs of Life

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

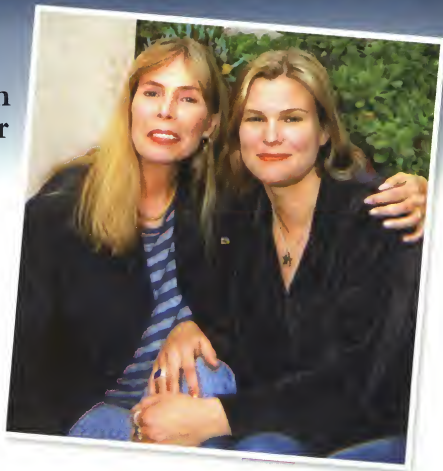
Maclean's

APRIL 21, 1997

JONI'S SECRET

The singer's
reunion with
her daughter
reveals the
joys and
traumas of
adoption

**Joni Mitchell and
Kilauren Gibb**



\$3.50



16

From The Editor

Rating the prime ministers

High over the Pacific Ocean, returning to Canada from a state visit to Japan in 1976, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was looking back the safe and dealing with three journalists he had invited to join him for dinner. Trudeau was better about his press clippings, kicking off several offending articles. "Typhoid Minister," one of his guests at-

tempted, "If we were about you and I was you wrote about your opponents in Quebec in the '50s, you'd have the RCMP after us." With a gleam in his eye, Trudeau responded: "Not the RCMP—the army." Trudeau's playful jest, embracing his use of the armed forces during the War Measures Act and his imprisonment of the RCMP during that era, was typical of his private wit—although the trait was little known to the Canadian public.

Prime ministers are not always what they appear to be. The strong in fact can become weak. The daring can fail. The brawler can crawl. These are some of the strands evident in a ranking of Canadian prime ministers by 25 scholars, compiled by two experts on 20th-century Canada, Norman Hillmer and J. L. Granatstein, and overseen by Managing Editor Cecil Trevelyan (page 34). The survey will dole out praise, outrage and awe. It also is a reminder that how voters judge a prime minister can differ radically from history's verdict.

A case in point is Liberal Lester Pearson, who failed in four attempts to win a majority, floundered endlessly with Terry Leader John

Diefenbaker in Parliament and endured countless cabinet snafus. Yet he gets a High-Average rating in the Macdonald project because he gave Canada a flag in 1965, established medicare, rationed pensions and welfare plans and averted Quebec's—and Charles de Gaulle's—challenge to national unity. Given the adversity he faced, Pearson arguably could have been bumped into the Near-Great category in the ranking with Louis St-Laurent.

A more elevated position in later decades may also await Brian Mulroney and Jean Chretien. Both were shunted in as Averages, in part because the historian felt it was too soon to fully evaluate their records. (Mainly because of brevity in office, Joe Clark was Low-Average, while John Turner and Kim Campbell got an F.) History will judge Mulroney primarily on two subjects—free trade with the United States and his failed effort to bring Quebec into the Constitution. And Chretien, the historian notes, that he will either go down as the prime minister who brought Canadian together—or lost the country. That, of course, assumes he won't the election he is poised to call.

The question of unity and nationhood is determining a prime minister's ranking. "In Canada's 100th year, it is an issue that haunts us still."

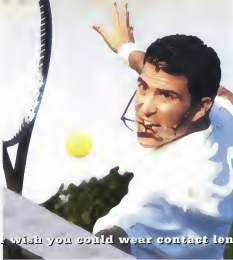
Robert Lewis



Johnson's 'aggressive love of therapy'

give up for adoption in 1965 when she was a struggling singer in Toronto, has caught the public's imagination. What began as a news story began to look like a movie of the week. Atlantic's Senior Writer Brian D. Johnson, who wrote the book's cover story, found that the glare of media attention was affecting the family involved, and was especially distressing for the adoptive parents. "Adoption is often shrouded in secrecy," says Johnson. "And wanting with your biological parents is a

highly personal event. There is celebrity and it can be a combustible mix. In the middle of an emotionally trying time, those involved suddenly find themselves undergoing a very aggressive form of public therapy." They may respond just as aggressively toward the media frenzy surrounding the Jon-Klausen case. Gibb's boyfriend tried, unsuccessfully, to sell an interview with Klausen to Macdonald's far less-famous, it seems can be both an opportunity and a trap.



Ever wish you could wear contact lenses?

Just for the afternoon?

You know those times when you'd like to get rid of your eyeglasses? Like when you're hanging for the net, working out or just being active. But you're put off by contacts. They're a hassle to clean and store. Not any more. Johnson & Johnson has created HDay Acuvue, the first contact lens that you wear just once, then throw away. No problems with cleaning solutions or storage. HDay Acuvue provides the comfort of fresh, new contacts whenever you feel like wearing them. And you'll be surprised at how affordable HDay Acuvue is. You only pay for lenses when you want to wear them. So give your glasses some time off. See your eyecare professional for a free trial pair.* When you just can't see wearing glasses.



Newsroom Notes:

Mother and child reunion

Canadian singer Joni Mitchell is not the sort of star one associates with the best bits of celebrity confessions, where all roads lead to Barbara Walters. An artist and an icon, she has tended to keep her personal life at a discreet distance from the media. But the remarkable story of her reunion with Klausen Gibb, the daughter she



National Hockey team members: playing as hard as they can

Women in sports

Congratulations on being one of the substantively best publications to give space to women's sports and for stressing how underpaid women are in comparison to even the most inept male ("Language of their own," Women in Sport, April 7). As the father of three daughters, I was naturally interested in their sports activities, but that is not the only reason for my curiosity. The inclusion of professional sports may be odious to the extreme (Michael Jordan could pay the wages of all the Nike workers in Indonesia and hardly notice), but if they have to be so high, then women deserve equal reward. They play as hard, as well, and as entertainingly.

David J. Holton
Durham, B.C. ■

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

should be addressed to:
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Mailbox's editors make a great view, but letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply names, addresses and daytime telephone numbers. Submissions may appear in Mailbox's electronic sites.

I personally feel very satisfied knowing that women athletes are finally receiving long-overdue recognition for athletic skills and achievement. Female athletes serve as excellent role models in an era ridden with anorexic teenage girls who have succumbed to societal pressures of maintaining a model's figure. It is about time for women to be admired and valued for qualities other than their outer appearance.

Marcia Emerson,
Toronto

RCMP concern

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police are greatly concerned about the decision by *Maclean's* to publish its cover story regarding complicated criminal investigations ("Murder mysteries," March 31). As the story was being researched and written, we were asked for comment. The RCMP advised that we were in no position to do so for two main reasons: it could interfere with important, ongoing criminal investigations and it could put lives in jeopardy. We never asked that the story be delayed long enough to allow the criminal investigations to run their course. Unfortunately, *Maclean's* ignored our appeal. Our priority now is to conclude the criminal investigations. Once that is done, and any related court cases completed, the RCMP will be in a position to discuss the case in detail. In fact, we look forward to the opportunity to set the record straight and correct the many errors contained in the article.

Terry Ryan,
Director, Federal Services,
RCMP Headquarters,
Ottawa

(*Maclean's stands by its story.*)

Constitutional wall

Robert Leveson's decision to state that "national unity is the most serious test we face facing the country" ("Where is THE Canadian?," From the Editor, April 7). To imagine that we can address other issues without first resolving our constitutional problems is like trying to renovate a house while the foundation is crumbling. Even

Canadians in Haiti

In 1915, Haiti's President Guillaume Sam was dragged from sanctuary in the French legation and torn limb from limb by a mob. (U.S. marines invaded to restore order and ban a police force—and remained for 20 years.) As the April 7 World Notes item "On the front line" shows, nothing has changed. The remains left an impossible situation, and we are still there.

Ray Farnell,
Victoria ■

those who dismiss the problem by saying "just let Quebec go" must understand that this simple statement has enormous and complex constitutional consequences that should be addressed sooner rather than later.

James J. Larkin,
Culter, Ont. ■

Fanning the flames

Your article "Down seeds" (Special Report, April 7) forwards a 30-year hate campaign against members of new religious in North America by continuing to tar them all with suspicion and an apocalyptic brush. The actual membership in such death-driven groups as Heaven's Gate is so small that it is like a few grains of sand on a beach. Yet psychologists and others who mislead their money promoting their own self-interest would have us all think that our next-door neighbor is going to spike our children's Roald Dahl. Thanks to such sentiments, five staff of our Parliament, Ore., church were shot last year by a mad

CLARIFICATION

In addition to an article titled "Look back in anger" in the Feb. 24, 1997 issue, *Maclean's* wishes to apologize to Terry Godden for making it appear that Mr. Godden was the school official referred to by Mark Flax in its statement of claim. In that statement of claim, Mr. Flax was not certain whether Mr. Godden was the school official to whom he had complained. *Maclean's* wishes to clarify that the allegations of Mark Flax, contained in his statement of claim, have yet to be proven in court. Prior to the publication of the Feb. 24 issue, who reports were made to contact Mr. Godden, but no messages were left for him and he was not aware of the article prior to or of the nature of the article prior to its publication.

"The single most precious commodity in business these days is time. And that's exactly what we sell."

Bill McKelvey, Dynacom Inc.



The business.
Dynacom Inc. One of the fastest-growing emergency response companies operates in North America.

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"This is not a business meant to be done - it's a business meant to be done. And customers demanding their service every day. If they needed something from here before, here they need it in half an hour or 20 minutes. And it's important that we keep up with and deliver on their needs, because ultimately, I tell Dynacom's, it's about customer service, and if that isn't your top priority, then this is the wrong business for you."

The solution.
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The results.
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freezer case.



Backstage



Anthony
Wilson-Smith

Fencing with the neighbors

And now, a test of community values. Suppose that your neighbors don't like broccoli, cannot stand hearing about it, and will not allow it on their property. One day, some members of their family speak with some of your family members while standing on their property. Your family members enthusiastically discuss their fondness for broccoli. The neighbors are furious. Not content with venting your family members off their property, they call the police. They demand that criminal charges be laid against your family members—even though there is no law in the community forbidding broccoli (and even though many discerning eaters might be relieved if there were).

If you agree with the neighbors, you probably agree with the Quebec government, which believes that Quebec laws should also apply to people and actions outside the province. If not, you understand why Judge Dorel's (Quebec's Supreme Court) last week dismissed charges against five Ontario revisionist and separatist members accused of violating Quebec's Referendum Act. The charges related to their role in helping Canadians outside Quebec to attend the massive, privately run rally that took place in Montreal three days before the October, 1995, referendum. The act, noting that the alleged acts took place outside the province, ruled that Quebec laws cannot be applied.

There is nothing surprising in legal tests about the ruling. But the reason it evoked among political leaders and commentators in Quebec reflects a growing trend to stifle at its roots by the rest of Canada its participation in the debate over the country's constitutional future. Park Dorel described it as a landmark yet another justification. A columnist in *Le Journal de Montreal* suggested that the "truly frightening" decision could lead to people attempting to influence Quebec voting results from strategically placed communal posts outside the province. Quebec City's *Le Soleil* suggested: "Imagine the reaction of Mike Harris if the Quebec Federation of Labor booted the neighborhood province with pro-NLQ propaganda." And, the editorialist noted dramatically, it is "preposterous to think that democracy stops at provincial borders."

Quite right on both counts—but not for the intended reasons. First, given the animosity towards the pro-separatist Quebec labor movement outside the province, a delighted Harris might be tempted to finance such a campaign himself. And, suggestions to the contrary, democracy has existed in Canada beyond Quebec's borders for 130 years. Although no other province has Quebec's prohibitive restrictions on electoral spending, other Canadians generally resist the temptation to spend such effort taking the an-

other how to vote previously. Even if they did, a sure way to stampede voters in one direction is for outsiders to tell them to do the opposite. Finally, the belief that you can tell people how to behave outside your own jurisdiction smacks of rather the Quebecing atmosphere. Push that idea to the most absurd limits—as severest restrictions often do in their arguments—and consider this if Quebecers believe they can tell Canadians in other provinces how to behave, why not just pass a provincial law declaring French as the only official language in all of Canada?

Better, that antipathy towards outside views extend elsewhere in Quebec. Witness the vehement opposition to efforts by the federal government to clarify in the Supreme Court whether the province has the established right to decide sovereignty. No member of the federal cabinet has questioned Quebec's right to decide if a clear majority of Quebecers vote Yes to a clear question. But Premier Lucien Bouchard repeatedly describes the court challenge as "antidemocratic"—and suggests that Quebec will do it without awareness of any such ruling. In other words, Bouchard's government wants the rest of Canada to abide by rules that apply only in Quebec, but says his government is not bound by rules that apply to all of Canada.

When it comes
to the future of
Quebec and
Canada, Lucien
Bouchard is
quick to lecture,
but slow to listen

Now, there are six sites open to her Reform party leader Preston Manning from a televised French language election debate because he would need simultaneous translation. When the networks agreed last week to allow Manning to take part, however, Bloc Quebecois MPs suggested that the party may boycott debates as a result. Never mind that Reform has the second-largest number of seats outside Quebec of any political party and can legitimately claim to speak for millions of Canadians.

Many Bloc MPs are bilingual or, at least, in a second language—just like Manning and more than 80 per cent of Canadians. Bouchard spoke virtually no English when he first ran federally in 1988. Imagine the reaction of Bloc members if there was no simultaneous translation in the Bloc's Congress.

Sovereignists argue that if Quebec becomes independent, the rest of the country will agree to an economic partnership if only because shared geography and business interests make that desirable. But parliament and neighbors must be able to speak freely, even if the subject is something as unpalatable as broccoli, or the diverging views of other Canadians. Whether sovereignists acknowledge it or not, negotiations with hard, angry Canadians (the event of a Yes vote would be costly, brutal, and probably very long and draining for both sides). If Quebecers won't listen to other views about the full potential consequences of sovereignty now, should they be surprised if, upon achieving it, they are surprised, uncertain and unhappy with the results?

Opening Notes

Edited by JARBARA BYCKENS

Weather at its Canadian worst

It is not just their imaginations. Depending upon when in the country they live, Canadians really have been experiencing some of the most extreme weather on record. After 224 mm of rain in Vancouver made March that city's wettest ever, residents of Atlantic Canada and Manitoba were digging themselves out of some of April's severest snow storms. And now, Winnipeggers are bracing for what some fear could become the "flood

of the century." In all, David Phillips, a senior climatologist with Environment Canada in Toronto, says in the past 25 months the nation has been dealt the greatest span of extremes he has seen in his 30 years on the job. While these conditions have some sci-

entific debating whether global warming is finally starting to affect the world's weather systems, Phillips is not yet ready to say. "In 30 years, we may be able to look back and say whether it was just natural variability or the start of a long-term, abusable change."

Showered water in Winnipeg: Is global warming to blame?



Have van, will lawyer

Clients do not have to let their fingers do the walking to find Roy Bucklin. The 42-year-old diesel mechanic-owned-lawyer advertises his services on the sides of his "taxi-like law office"—which he says is the first law practice in North America to offer legal advice from a van. The three-quarter-ton towing office may not have glass doors or leather seats, but Toronto-based Bucklin has customized the white KMC van with a U-shaped couch, a shelf of law books, a television, a VCR and a Hi-Fi camera for recording his clients' accident scenes. After graduating from Toronto's Osgoode Hall in 1989, Bucklin handled driving offences for the Downs before settling out on his own as a traffic law expert two years ago. Bucklin acknowledges that if he advertised his services like the rest of Canada's 68,306 lawyers, he probably would not attract as much attention. "There are 87 pages of lawyer ads in the yellow pages," he says. "My ad is pretty effective." And besides, it keeps him close to the action.

Lessons in loving and living

In most quarters, marriage is still a serious business. At North Vancouver's Camosun Secondary School, it is considered as serious that it takes its own semester-long course. To gain credit in "Love, life and finally death," one of four segments of a family management program, students in grades 11 and 12 plan and enact a mock wedding. For this year's nuptials, held at the school gym last week, the students arranged for a minister, robed in robes and gown for two processions, two brides and six best friends, and even had a honeymoon on hand at the reception. Camosun's Al Klart, 51, who teaches the seven-lesson program, says it is the more difficult than one might think. Says Klart, "The program teaches them the importance of compatibility, how to negotiate and compromise, and help them to see that marriage is a lot like life—sometimes it takes hard work."

Unsinkably fine cuisine

It sank off the shores of Newfoundland 85 years ago this week, and has captivated imaginations ever since. Now, the Titanic is about to sink into the limelight again—in a Broadway play premiering later this month, a Hollywood movie opening in July, and an unusual new book that invites readers to recreate parts of the voyage with the luxury liner's 1,213 passengers.

Coauthored by John Waters to writers Rick Archibald and Dana McCauley, *Last Dinner on the Titanic: what to wear* (Fales of Heford), and how to announce that dinner is served (with a gig) As for the intricate, richly illustrated recipes, McCauley, a professional chef, says they are a tribute to the dead—and the living. "It takes a lot of work to have this perfect ' Titanic party' also says. "But anyone involved in a meal like this should feel very honored." All aboard for a night to remember.

the book also gives complete instructions on what to wear (evening clothes for men, down-length, close-fitting gowns for women), which flowers to buy (American Beauty roses), what sort of a long-term, abusable change



Last Dinner on the Titanic: what to wear

Liberals, females—but not candidates

Not just a few people thought Prime Minister Jean Chrétien had really put his foot in it when he declared that he would be 70 of the 301 candidates in the coming federal election to be women—and that he was prepared to tolerate them if necessary. Even those who agree there should be more women in the House of Commons were not sure that concerning the democratic process at the constituency level was the best way of achieving that goal. But against the backdrop of Chrétien's female-friendly initiative, two of the current 137 women MPs have dared so poorly that they have lost their candidacies. On March 22, Liberal backbencher Rosemary Skelton lost out to fellow MP Frances LaBrec in the new Nova Scotia riding of Pictou/Antigonish/Cape Breton. The outspoken Skelton had alienated many trifolians of Liberals with her controversial views on "family values," and when the new riding's boundaries were drawn incorporating part of her and her rival's constituencies, the party establishment backed LaBrec. Then there is the case of Newfoundland MP Jean Payne, who in the 1980 election won the St. John's West riding that reformed John Crosbie had held for 17 years. But a high-profile personal bankruptcy and an ongoing conviction by the RCMP's economic crime section tarnished Payne, and last week former Newfoundlander energy minister Bob Gilchrist got the nod to run in the riding. Clearly, at least some of the party faithful are peering over concerns over Chrétien's feminist agenda.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Girl, on the Water* (2)
2. *Alas, Ours, Beyond the Sea* (4)
3. *The Prince, John, on the Water* (4)
4. *Let us be Men, on the Water* (4)
5. *2000: The Final Minutes, on the Water* (4)
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Passages

DIED: Sports magnate Jack Kent Cooke, 54, of heart failure, in a Washington hospital. A high-school dropout, the Hamilton, Conn. Cooke produced the first professional encyclopedia during the Depression. After working for publishing giant Barnes & Noble for 15 years, Cooke, by then a millionaire, struck out on his own in 1954.



by age 19 (1950-52), he, his partners and the Toronto Maple Leafs minor-league baseball club. Blocked in his efforts to buy The Globe and Mail and to secure the first Canadian private television license, Cooke left Canada for the United States in 1960. By 1974, he controlled three major-league sports franchises: the NHL's Los Angeles Kings, the NFL's Los Angeles Raiders and the NFL's Washington Redskins. He sold the first, but kept the Redskins, investing almost \$200 million in a new stadium that will open later this year.

DIED: Former Quebec Court of Appeal Justice Albert Malouin, 80, of his home in Montreal. Malouin headed several controversial inquiries, including the 1977 commission into the billion-dollar Cdnair case at the 1978 Olympic Games.

SETTLED: Out of court, a \$1-million lawsuit launched by former Alberta premier Don Getty, 63, who claimed that a series of November 1991, articles in The Globe and Mail defamed him. Managing editor Colin Macleod declined to release details, but said the newspaper would publish no retractions or apologies.

AWARDED: A Pulitzer Prize, the second for Canadian journalist John Burt Foster, 62, of The New York Times, for international reporting. He won his first in 1993 for his Bosnian coverage and has worked for his account of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

DIED: Singer-songwriter Laura Nyro, 49, best known for her influential string of hits in the 1960s and 1970s, of ovarian cancer, at her home in Danbury, Conn.

DIED: Canadian historian Malcom B. Cowie, 90, a former soldier of the quarterly digest The Star in a Western hospital.

MARRIED: Actor Patsy Kensit, 29, and Liam Gallagher, 24, lead vocalist for the British rock group Oasis, in London.

East fuses with West

With Asian Tapes and Wild Seed, internationally acclaimed Vancouver artist David Hoyle is on the verge of a big-time career in the search of a big-time career, which is a melting pot of fusion from around the world. Hoyle's range from the first time capsule to the present is a testament to his artistic vision.



A fort where friendship is in order

Montreal entrepreneur Joe Gray has big plans. On July 25, he will officially open Fort LaSalle, a 400-acre metro-coder log fort in Montserrat, a Quebec Miramichi reserve on the north shore of the Saguenay River opposite Campbellton, N.B. A conversion of the original outpost from which the French, Acadia and Miramichi fought against English and British troops in the 1700s, the new Fort LaSalle (the Miramichi name for Miramichi) will offer tourists a chance to cut and sleep in 18th-century fashion. The site includes many barracks and 24 towers, which together will accommodate up to 150 visitors. But Gray, 55, who believes the story of Quebec independence has been historically unfairly treated between French Quebecers and the province's 11 First Nations, hopes the fort will be more than a popular tourist destination. He wants the 51-cent project to bring people back together. "This fort represents a beautiful time in our history," says Gray, who raised most of the money privately. "Everything is going to be the way it was when we were all friends."

Ready to rumble

Getting blindsided by a sleeper issue is every politician's nightmare. Which is why hundreds of poll takers and media advisers sweating circles in 1997 are closely watching the heat generated by Justice Minister Allan Rock's *Minors*-aid gun-control legislation. The polls show that the vast majority of Canadians favor the law, which makes it mandatory to register firearms and bans importing and selling a variety of small handguns. But in several rural ridings, gun control remains an issue. No surprise, then, that the federal Tories and the Reform party have both promised to repeal the law. Or that the Grits take more from passing tactics of the way the matter refuses to die in places like New South's Antelope Valley. "The Liberals are not going to win any votes," notes *Alma* University political scientist *Alma*, "by trotting out *Alma* Rock in these parts when the wind blows."

With an election all but certain for early June, every little thing matters. Even though the Liberals are overwhelmingly ahead in the polls, they are haunted by January, the day the tide turned against them in 1984. The moment John Turner told Brian Mulroney during a televised debate that he had "no choice" but to make a series of controversial patronage appointments, the way David Peterson's ruling Ontario Liberals called an early election in 1990 and were soundly rebuffed by voters. "Politics are the electorate is now more volatile than ever. The Liberals, therefore, will endeavor to run a cautious campaign. Their opponents will be praying for a stumble, a scandal or an error, like gun control, with which to steal seats, in any event. The players had better be ready at 30 days, the actual campaign will be 11 days less than in 1983, and the shortest by far in Canadian federal history because, for the first time, electioneering will be done before the election is called. "This is a sprint," says Senator David Thériault, national director of the Tory campaign. "Lost your footing and there's no time to recover."

The battle for the House of Commons '97 is already under way in everything but name. Last week, the Bloc was two-thirds empty as MPs worked their home ridings crowded the airwaves in Quebec. The phones were being rung up in the Reform party campaign "war room" in Calgary. The risk and the fall of the New Democratic Party Borden to the annual convention in Regina, where leader *Alma* Mulroney attacked the Liberals on the issue of job creation. "If Ottawa can set and make targets for deficit reduction," she declared, "then they can do the same and meet targets for creating jobs." And like the other leaders, they seemed to be everywhere: stamping the countryside, hitting the talk-show circuit and searching out photo opportunities.

The battle is understandable—a short campaign means that early momentum may be everything. Progressive Conservative Leader *Jim* Chretien realized this when he issued his detailed election plan last month. In the process, making it clear that the Tories, with a mere two seats in the Commons, will be trying to back up their claim of being the only truly national party besides the Liberals. But soon all the parties will be bombarding voters with their campaign messages. The Liberals, currently with 175 seats and the support of 47 per cent of decided voters, according to a late March poll by Environics Research Group Ltd., will try to make the election a referendum on their management of the economy. The Bloc

The campaign is under way in everything but name



Gun shop in Calgary as issue waiting in the wings

Quebec, with 30 seats and 13-per-cent support—44 per cent in Quebec—will try to prove that it is still relevant in Ottawa. Reform, also with 30 seats and 18-per-cent support, will push its case. And the NDP, denied official party status with only nine seats and currently enjoying 18-per-cent popular support, will attempt to sell a message of full employment and a strong safety net.

The big national machines have been up and running for months. Campaign headquarters are rented, staff is in place, tents are printed, some television ads are in the can. By last week, the Liberals had announced a whopping 283 candidates while the Tories had named 104 and the NDP 159. The majority-based parties, which do not intend to run full ridings, have been busy too. Reform, which expects to contest about 240 ridings, has given the nod to 130 candidates, while the Bloc is already well along the road to naming its 75 Quebec nominees.

In some cases, candidate selection is proving to be a real challenge. Last year's redistribution of ridings has sparked a series of tough, some-

times nasty, nomination battles. A prime example: the newly minted New South riding of *Peterborough*/*Georgetown*, where last month Liberal MP *Francis* LaRocque narrowly squeaked past his caucus mate *Rosemary* Blosie, a virulent opponent of gay rights, in an acrimonious house-town battle. And the usual scramble has been on for six candidates such as former general *Lewis* MacKenzie, who is running for the Tories in the central Ontario riding of *Thornhill*/*Markham*, and ex United Church cleric and former Tory cabinet minister *David* MacDonald, who is joining for the NDP nomination in the riding of *Toronto* Centre/*Rosedale*.

Even among second-tier candidates, party strategists are anxious to find a mix of names and faces that mirror the changing country. That approach can backfire—witness the way *Christine* Hargrave, who lost last month by decreasing that 25 per cent of Liberal candidates had to be women. Reform strategists, on the other hand, have been happy to trumpet the young, ethnic candidates they will run in the election—which they hope will help change their party's redneck image. "Our party's face," points out *Rick* Anderson, Reform's chief campaign strategist, "is changing."

Facilities cost money—lots of it. The national parties promise to spend big bucks on the tools of modern campaigning—TV advertising, polling and high-tech war rooms. Although party treasurers predictably claim that corporate and grassroots donations have been pouring in, they are reluctant to provide firm figures. All the same, the Liberals say they will spend about the same as in 1993, roughly \$10.5 million, while the Tories, who have reduced their 1993 campaign debt of \$8 million to less than \$1 million, expect to spend \$15 million this time. Reform will spend about \$4 million, the NDP around \$7 million and the Bloc in the \$3-million range.



Chretien with supporters: not ahead—but hunted by hat

But austerity will be a factor in the campaign. Reform, as let us a party preaching fiscal prudence, has decided not to run candidates in clearly unwinnable seats. Tory party, in fact, will carefully pick the seats into which it pours money. "What's that old saying about sowing seeds in fertile ground?" says Liberal campaign co-director *David* Smith. Cost-cutting—along with fewer full-time reporters being assigned to the campaign by cash-strapped news organizations—on even *Richard* McCreagh's decision to leave the country on a sabbatical rather than the usual, longer 337.

Many candidates say that concerns over cost will not deter them from running tough, spirited campaigns. "This is going to put on my Nikes and wear them out," promises *Keith* Martin, a Reform MP who expects a tough battle in the B.C. swing riding of *Esquimalt*/*Juan de Fuca*. Two thousand kilometers away in Winnipeg, North Centre, *Judy* Wasylyuk-Lewis, a former Manitoba cabinet minister who was terminated last October as the NDP's first candidate, can hardly wait to start putting up the fees even if the short campaign worries her. "This is the length of the provincial campaign," she points out, "but I have to cover five times the riding."

In spite of the current polls, there may be surprises. Some observers question the firmness of Liberal support. It may be "built on a bed of sand and could be very vulnerable," *Environics* vice-president *Dennis* Davis noted last week. And, of course, there are always slumping issues—such as the gun-control legislation. In the end, that may not translate into much more than a few seats for the Opposition parties. But with the numbers—and signs—so firmly stacked against them, they will take a real way they can get it

JOHN DEWONT with LANE PENSER in Ottawa



Bypassing the campaign trail

The outrage was both swift and loud. Barely 48 hours after *La Presse* reporter André Pratte unleashed *The French Canadian*, his 166-page essay arguing that lying has become the common currency of Canadian politics, howl rose from the floor at Quebec's annual assembly late last month. Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson led a motion censuring not only Pratte, but also the French-language television show *On a dit* et *à dire*, which had released the results of an audience poll inspired by the book.

Pratte, asked to raise which politicians had the most, 52 per cent of voters had accorded to a blunder to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, 47 per cent to new out-of-place dissembler Premier Lucien Bouchard. Thunders that Pratte had impugned the integrity of every elected Canadian, Johnson, who had branded Bouchard a liar only the week before, was not immune to report.

But if the politician's fury was predictable, what stunned Pratte was the reaction of his media colleagues, whom he calls accomplices in the crime—letting officials off the hook in return for suspect, off-the-record leaks and allowing victims to degenerate into pure fiction. As Pratte discovered, one thing to declare that the newspaper has its claws, quite another to question the garb of the imperial robes. "Most of the political reporters said I was naive or too idealistic," he marvels. "That surprised me because I thought that was what journalists were about—to set standards that are high."

In fact, on the eve of an expected federal election call, when polls show public skepticism of both politicians and the media at record levels, Pratte has raised awkward questions about a relationship that, more than ever, seems destined for the spotlight's glare. Already, the CBC and other news organizations have promised a revolution in this year's campaign coverage, provoked in part by the frustration of finding themselves leadership bid players in a ritualized, behind-the-scenes increasingly orchestrated by political strategists and proliferating spin doctors. "It's a rebellion against the fact that there has been an emphasis on the campaign trail," says Tony Braun, execu-

tive producer of *The National*. "The goal here is to bring two or three steps ahead of the manipulators."

Last month, the leading networks wrapped up an agreement to pool footage from each of the five party leaders' tours. Instead of dozens of competing crews jostling to snorttake a candidate's every move, two consensual cameras will record the likes of every leader on the findings. Considering the fact that some parties in 1993 charged reporters \$15,000 a visit on their campaign planes—and that is the current



Pratte: awkward questions about the media's role

splittered political landscape, there are even more leades to track—the goal will drastically cut media costs. According to CTV's Ottawa bureau chief, Craig Oliver, it could save some networks as much as \$500,000. But it will also slash party revenues, deflating the hopes that has long glided electioneering with the ivory plume of a Hollywood entrepreneur. Says Oliver: "I don't think the public here we were essentially financing these campaigns."

Gerry Anand, Ottawa bureau chief of Canadian Press, makes no pretence of the fact that, purely for financial reasons, his reporters will not be assigned to any party leader's plane. But Chrétien's "Our staff is only by 20 per cent since a year ago," he says, "so we have to find new ways of doing things." But despite the fact that CBC TV has gone further than its rivals—declaring to assign a full-time reporter to any of the leaders' tours, including the Prime Minis-

ter's, Braun insists the public network was not forced to do so by its current fiscal straits. For years, he argues, he and others have questioned the value of that campaign institution, the boys and girls on the bus—shepherded from terrain to photo opportunity with such disembodied frequency that they can often fix spot the stamp speech more accurately than the candidate. "We felt we were becoming prisoner to a ritual which really wasn't all that meaningful," Braun says. "The argument was that the tour provided access to the leaders, but in fact even that has shut down, except for these ludicrous services."

Whether or not the changes in coverage are provoked primarily by the bottom line, they reflect a growing uneasiness among the media that service as politicians' campaign props was merely feeding voters' alienation from the democratic process. The CBC plans to redevelop the money saved from not following the leaders' itineraries into more regional election reports. But for James Winter, a professor of communications at the University of Windsor, any outback in coverage represents a risk. "You're simply relying on the opinion of a smaller number of people," he warns. "Ultimately, it can lead to a situation where you end up with one voice."

Last week, in another new twist, CBC-TV's parliamentary bureau chief Christopher Waddell invited all five parties to participate in morning news conferences on *Newsweek*. Patterned after British election campaigns, they are meant to prod candidates into a more civilized debate. But Braun's current scandal beset campaign offers a cautionary note about the extent of their cliffhanger influence. And as CTV's Oliver points out, despite the breakdown of decrying political horse-race reporting, "Every time I meet someone out on the campaign trail, it's 'Who's going to win?' not, 'Tell me about the debate society'."

Whether political reporting is ever to undergo a true metamorphosis will, in the end, depend on what reform themselves demand. "As a society we have to ask ourselves what we want," says André Pratte. "If we want politicians to tell us everything and take all our problems will be solved in six months, then a lot's easy criticizing the sound bites."



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EAST VANCOUVER

Worlds colliding

It may not be a castle, but to Sonny Krutch it is home. The 67-year-old former construction supply salesman has lived in the same third-floor room in Vancouver's Deltone Hotel for the past 14 years. Faced once before when he was laid off from his job in the mid-1980s, Krutch now lives on \$14,000 a year in old-age security and Canada Pension Plan benefits. For \$325 a month, he shares a sparsely furnished 218-square-foot room in the city's Downtown Eastside—the neighborhood with the lowest per capita income in all of Canada—with cockroaches and mice. Lately, he's woken up after dark for fear of being mugged, he claims. More to ward off junkies, who have transformed his shared bathroom up the hallway into a smoking gallery.

Until recently, Krutch could at least take some comfort as the spectator view of the harbor and the North Shore mountains outside his window. But this spring, he stares directly into the back of a controversial new high-rise condominium complex—surrounded by surveillance cameras and a security fence—where apartment buyers in the real world "Krutch is unconvinced that good fences make good neighbors, and impatient about the fact that the newcomers have begun to complain about the Deltone. "Let them close their doors," he says. "We were here first."

grittier neighborhood—and social activists warn there is much more at stake than views. In recent years, developers and real-estate speculators have been eyeing the Downtown Eastside because of its high-density zoning and cheap real estate prices. Less than 500 a square foot compared with \$600 to \$800 in the downtown centre only a 10-minute walk away.



Krutch: 'We were here first'

Condo culture threatens a poor but close-knit community

Some predict that the area, still considered undesirable by many Vancouverites because of its poverty, illness, prostitution, alcoholism and drug abuse, is poised for a boom. Others say its 15,000 residents, nearly 70 percent of them low income, could be headed for catastrophe. Already, several of the neighborhood's 285 hotels, home to nearly 5,000 single-room occupancy (SRO)—or 3800—like Krutch's, are up for sale. A few have been converted to modest tourist accommodations, others have raised their rents. The consequences are proving dramatic. According to the 4,500-

East Message: headed for a house—or dream

member Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA), a nonprofit community advocacy group, 600 units of affordable neighborhood housing have been lost to conversion, demolition or fire in the past five years. And a recently released study by Vancouver city planners reported that only 52 per cent of area SROs are priced at \$325 or less—the maximum welfare allowance for shelter—compared with 74 per cent five years ago.

Around Victory Square, near the new downtown campuses of Simon Fraser University, the U.C. Institute of Technology and the Vancouver Film School, the number has fallen to 27 per cent as an influx of students, along with trendy cafes and shops, has sent prices skyrocketing. "The rental market is getting squeezed tighter all the time," says DERA president Ian MacIver, who worries that unregulated homelessness may ensue. Aida Nick Biondo, a specialist in urban geography at Simon Fraser, "My sense is that we are not any away from disaster."

The controversy was dealt another blow on April 4, when developer Faza Holdings revised its plans for a \$75-million revitalization of the abandoned Woodward's department store on Hastings Street. The project, originally designed to house 400 market-value co-ops and three floors of retail space, was reduced to 200 co-ops and 200 social-housing units under a deal brokered by the provincial NDP early last year. That Faza, citing doleful negotiations over how to finance and build the units, has decided to revert to its original scheme. The company even declined an offer of assistance by Mayor Philip Owen, who called the posthumous venture a "sensible example of the partnership required at the displacement of low-income residents to be avoided."

Anti-development graffiti plastered the boarded-up site last week as community activists vowed to take the Woodward's battle to the streets. "We are going to have to make it as difficult as possible for them to sell these units," said Toni Laviolette, head of the Carapac Community Action Project, one of several local groups outraged by the developments. Many area residents say they are offended by the view of some rubble and up-and-down Vancouverites lost their vital neighborhood, home to more than 170 groups, many community organizations and social service agencies, as a hapless aid unit. "I think the developers want everybody out of here," says Karl Schrade, 52, who suffers from arthritis and lives on \$225 a month in social assistance after paying the rent on a tiny room in the Alura Hotel. "They think that everybody down here is just a transient. But this is a community. It is a neighborhood. These are actual people living here."

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The Chuckles

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A Message From the Member Dentists of the Canadian Dental Association

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Canada NOTES

REGAN GOES TO TRIAL

Crown prosecutors moved to speed up the protracted legal proceedings against former News Scotia premier Gerald Regan as 17 sex-related charges, including rape, ending 13 months. A preliminary hearing had run for 15 weeks in the past year, with no end in sight. Now Regan, 58, will go directly to trial after the Crown, concerned about stress on the complainants, invoked preferred indictment, a streamlined procedure. Calling that move an abuse of process, Regan's lawyer, Edward Greenstein, vowed to challenge the speedup.

A MILITARY MESS

Prime Minister Jean Chretien defended a deal between Canada and the United States under which Canadian taxpayers will pay for the slowness of former U.S. military installations in Newfoundland and the North. According to reports last week, Canada had asked for \$700 million, but received \$140 million that can only be used to purchase U.S. military equipment.

HOPE FOR MONTFORT?

Responding to public pressure, the Ontario government agreed an emergency commission to keep the province's only fully francophone hospital open. But the government did not insist that Ottawa's Montfort Hospital stay in its present building. The Health Services Restructuring Commission had recommended closure.

REFORMING EDUCATION

There was cautious optimism in Ottawa for a possible constitutional deal to let Quebec revamp its school system. The province wants to replace its religious school boards with ones based on language—a move requiring a constitutional amendment. Last week, the Parti Quebecois government and its Liberal opposition agreed on ways to protect anglophone rights in a reorganization.

A VOICE IN THE NORTH

Isolated in northern Quebec, elected Zedee Nungak is head of the Matavie Corp., a holding company for the \$90 million in compensation the natives received for the 1975 James Bay hydroelectric project. Nungak called on Quebec to discuss the impact of sovereignty on the province's northern natives.



Key (left), Regan: Canadian football caps American how-to

Going for the score

Did the Canadian Football League score a financial touchdown—or fumble its future independence? Hard to say. What is clear is that the U.S.-based National Football League agreed to advance \$4 million to the cash-strapped CFL. Under the five-year deal announced last week, the CFL also gets access to the NFL's marketing expertise and, perhaps, some additional publicity through a proposed game in 1998 between that year's Grey Cup winner and the champion of the minor World League of American Football, which the NFL owns and operates. "We want

to pass on our expertise, which we hope will help the CFL," NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue said. "This isn't about the NFL taking over the CFL."

In return for the cash advance, which the CFL has to repay out of new revenue arising from the partnership, the NFL gets the opportunity to sign players from the CFL, since the Grey Cup game is played. The NFL can also, if it wants to, stage an exhibition or regular-season game in Vancouver or Toronto. CFL chairman John Torry and that while the up-front cash helps the league, he is more enthused about the revenue from potential new ventures. "We have never had the resources to take advantage of our marketing opportunities because we have been struggling to stay afloat," he noted. Torry, who earlier that year said the CFL was in critical condition, now says the eight-team league is "in much better shape than I have seen in a long time." He added that the CFL wants to develop new grassroots programs to increase interest. But the money is important. Last season, the Winnipeg Blue Bombers were the only club to turn a profit.

POLICY Cyber-terrorism

It is nothing short of an electronic nightmare for a family in Enniskillen, Ont., near Windsor. Dubois Tamara, 40, and her husband, Dubois, 42, have been harassed by a cyber-terrorist who has threatened them since last December by faxing, lights on and off, interrupting telephone conversations, changing channels on their TV and listening in on family conversations. So far, police and technology company officials involved in tracking down the culprits, who definitely do not share their voices and as by the name Sonny One and Sonny Two. "It's like a fever dream," Dubois says. Bill Canada has changed the family's telephone number, changed the phone line in their home and changed the telephone cable in the family's neighborhood. The company even had to buy Sonny's equipment with a 600-watt blast down the phone line. "If I could," Dubois said, "I'd blow out tomorrow."

Ontario flirts along

It's finally over. Thanks for one night's break. The Ontario legislature had been sitting around the clock since April 2, hearing 12,000 Liberal and NDP amendments to the Conservative so-called majority legislation. The bill proposes joining Toronto with five surrounding municipalities to form a new city of about 5.1 million people. The Liberal-NDP filibuster—which succeeded in delaying the bill to be read out loud and voted on—came to an end late on April 13, clearing the way for a final vote when the legislature resumes sitting on April 21. But opposition MPs say they plan similar stalling tactics for Tory plans to cut the number of provincial school boards from 139 to 66. That legislation, called Bill 194, already faces about 1,500 amendments, said government house leader Dave Johnson. "Clearly, Bill 194 is a problem, given this situation," Johnson added. As a countermeasure, the government is considering simply passing Bill 104 without adding any of its own amendments, denying other MPs the same opportunity.

The Tory government's popularity, meanwhile, continues to erode. A poll last week showed that support for Premier Mike Harris's government has dropped to 58 per cent of decided voters, well below the 45 per cent the party received in the June 1995 election. The Liberals led with 43 per cent, while the NDP trails with 15.

The 'just right' summit

Not too hot, not too cold—perfect for an election

Bill Clinton may not have been able to give Jean Chrétien the round of golf he had promised him when the Prime Minister visited Washington last week. The President's injured lower back ruled that out, but politicians have a way of making the best of any situation, so Clinton made a point of showing Chrétien his prized collection of golf clubs when he meted his visitor over to the White House for an unscheduled first night chat. After giving Chrétien a tour of the Clintons' family quarters, the President ushered him into his private study and brought out the chairs—including one that once belonged to John F. Kennedy and another from William Faulkner, the late American novelist who was Clinton's political mentor. The two sat, sipping Anisette and talking easily about—what else?—politics, while the 30 minutes that White House staff had allotted for the session stretched into an hour and a half. By all accounts, the men from Hope and the "little guy" from Shawanigan have achieved a comfort level that even they may not have expected, and the Prime Minister offered his own explanation. "The sun did get," he told an aide later, "and he even ate an even older pie."

Two old pros, taking shape over a few sippers of something dark and strong. One might almost call it a coup—except for the fact that Chrétien went out of his way two days later to emphatically deny that his rapport with Clinton is any such thing. "Good—and not good," was how the Prime Minister summed up "the relationship" after being reminded that he used to severely criticize Brent Melnyk for getting too chummy with Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

Other people might find it encouraging—even touching—that the President of the United States would have his leader over to the house for an impromptu prime session. But Canadians are eyes on guard against getting too close to their powerful neighbor, so Chrétien posed pointed questions during his three-day official visit to the U.S. capital, but first since he took office in 1993. He had wanted to tell the rest of an almost-certain election call, but as it turned out, his timing was good. For Chrétien, in fact, this was the Goldilocks Summit. For his purposes, relations with the United States are not too hot, and not too cold, they're just right.

Overall, the leaders were able to build in the glow of a relationship that is going as well as it has at any time in recent memory. Trade



ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON

disputes are few and far between, and free trade is an accepted fact on both sides of the border. To be sure, there are a few high profile issues dividing Ottawa and Washington—notably how to promote democracy in Cuba, and Canada's desire to protect its cultural industries. But with a federal election call expected by the end of the month, both sides know better than to pose for action in those areas. Instead, the disputes served the useful purpose of giving Chrétien an opportunity to publicly assert his government's independence from Washington, as he frequently did.

His aides carefully pointed out that American leaders used warmer rhetoric about Canada than Chrétien used in talking about the United States. And after celebrating the friendship at an elegant state dinner on Tuesday, the Prime Minister went out of his way the next day to underline the differences. Canada, he said in effect, is a distinct society that values such things as universal health

Bill Clinton joins Jean Chrétien, Hillary Clinton with Alvin Chrétien, one of their

care and gun control. Chrétien's most successful applause line during a speech to the National Press Club came when he expressed satisfaction that the U.S. National Rifle Association "was unsuccessful in its attempt to pass a repeal of its ban on assault weapons to Canada." A winner aside to the Prime Minister made it clear that the Liberals saw gun control as a key campaign issue. "We're going to watch the Tories and Reformers on this," he said.

Chrétien's visit almost perfectly mirrored the ambivalence that Canadians feel towards the United States—alternately drawn to and repelled by American might. That could be seen even in tiny

details. The Prime Minister was accompanied by four of his ministers when he went to the White House on Tuesday morning for a meeting in the Oval Office with Clinton, followed by a joint cabinet meeting. With the blossoms on the trees in the famed Rose Garden, the setting seemed perfect—and even ministers who have been known to indulge in a little Yankee-baiting for domestic consumption could not resist filling their pockets with special White House McDonalds as souvenirs. Chrétien himself asked an aide to give a few for his grandchildren.

The easy rapport between the two leaders had one quick, albeit modest, payoff. Canadian officials were anxious to promote the so-called Canada House, a sophisticated robotic extension of the famed Canadiana manufactured by Spar Aerospace of Toronto that will be used in building the International Space Station starting at the end of 1998. They had asked the White House for permission to display a three-meter model of the house at Clinton and Chrétien's joint news conference. According to a Canadian official, the American said not they had had experiences with people that didn't work. But when the President and the Prime Minister were sitting in the Oval Office, Clinton joked that he wished Canada could come up with a robotic knee to replace the one whose tendon he tore in early March. Then, the President overrode his officials by saying "Let's get that model in the Rose Garden, it'll look good." It was pushed over from the Canadian Embassy in time for their appearance two hours later.

There were more substantive achievements, though nothing as wide-ranging as the Open Skies agreement expanding cross-border air travel that was the centerpiece of Clinton's 1995 official visit to Ottawa. Instead, the two sides signed a series of small-scale accords touching on everything from pollution to white-collar crime. They agreed to cut toxic wastes flowing into the Great Lakes. They produced a series of measures to ease border crossings—such as an staying open round-the-clock at 50 small crossings by using remote video cameras to monitor traffic. They settled on ways to let Asian travelers pass directly through Vancouver International Airport on their way to the United States without first clearing Canadian customs—making it easier for the airport to act as a North American gateway from the east. And they vowed to crush down on cross-border telemarketing schemes run out of Canada that victimize American senior citizens.

They did touch on the hot issues between them, albeit briefly. On Cuba, perhaps the most intractable problem, American officials gave the Canadians advance notice of a compromise they announced late last week on Helms-Burton, the American law that prohibits foreign companies that profit from trade in American property in Cuba conducted by the Castro government. The United States persuaded the European Union to postpone for six months

its challenge against Helms-Burton in the World Trade Organization. In return, the administration agreed to address the part of the law that can bar executives of companies doing business on the island from visiting the United States. On culture, Chrétien again made Canada's case for protecting its magazine industry by lowering so-called anti-censorship of American magazines that bleed off Canadian advertising dollars. According to a senior White House official, Vice-President Al Gore letched quietly to the Prime Minister's explanation



ation, then jumped in by jokingly calling it "a feebly clever argument for protectionism."

With the Ottawa Washington relationship running along so nicely, Clinton and Clinton were more than happy to use an global as The President urged the Prime Minister to keep pressing China as a human rights record. Each year since the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, Canada has been among the Western countries co-sponsoring a resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission criticizing China for abuses. But last

week, France withdrew its support for the resolution, other European countries withdrew their support, and Canada started to waver.

At the White House, Clinton urged Clinton to keep Canada as a co-sponsor of a vote this week in Geneva. "The message was the steady, don't succumb to bullying from the Chinese," a senior administration official said last week. Canada, though, fears that China might retaliate against it by using its veto in the UN Security Council to block an extension of the mandate for Canadian peacekeepers in Haiti, which expires at the end of July. Clinton assured Clinton that the United States would vote on China in the Security Council over Haiti. But it wasn't said, Canada was still mulling over its position on the issue.

There was one glitch during the visit, part of the usual of frequent meetings in a separate room for their spouses, and the two wives agreed on something with the highly appropriate themes of education and technology. Clinton's wife, Alene, involved with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to an elementary school in a poor black neighborhood of southeast Washington to watch the students talk to schoolchildren in Ottawa through a live audiovisual Internet link. The women emphasized about high-tech communication and cross-border learning before a backdrop of state-of-the-art computer monitors and web stations. But as soon as they left, technicians took out the equipment, which the Clinton family had rented for the occasion. The children, it turned out, would be left with a single outdated computer able to connect with the Internet. But in keeping with the summer's upbeat mood, even that embarrassing episode had a happy ending. After members of the Telephone Pioneers of Canada charity group began working the phones, the American television program, One World, Toronto, Television, started to receive 18 computerized school—meaning that the Prime Minister's day to Washington will have at least one lasting benefit. □

The ambassador game

Just Clinton may have learned a few things from Bill Clinton when they met privately in Washington, but the Prime Minister came away no wiser about something of direct interest to Canada: the identity of the next American ambassador to Ottawa. The post has been vacant for just over a year, since former ambassador James Blanchard left Ottawa on March

really hard to be significant donors themselves or to be involved in twisting other people's arms for cash. The tangled tale of how the Democratic national committee and the White House used such perks as rights in the Lincoln Bedroom to reward donors has made the subject radioactive in Washington. The last thing the administration wants is to nominate an ambassador—and then see him or her shot down by the Republican-controlled Senate for involvement in the land-owning controversy.

Still, there were some hints during Clinton's visit to Washington. At Tuesday night's state dinner in the White House for the Prime Minister, close observers noted the presence of two men who are being considered for Ottawa. One is Philip Lader, a 50-year-old Democrat and Clinton crony from South Carolina best known for organizing the legendary Renaissance Weekends that bring together hundreds of top-level politicians, businessmen and academics. The other is Gordon Giffin, 47, a lawyer from Atlanta who chaired Clinton's campaign in Georgia in both 1992 and 1996. In an account of the dinner, the Washington Post noted acidly that "members amused themselves watching Lader and Giffin jockey for position."

His front-runner could be determined "in fact, Lader is the favored candidate and has been since at least New Year's, when Clinton attended a Renaissance Weekend in Hilton Head, S.C., and asked his old friend whether he would be interested in Ottawa. But Giffin has an unusual claim to the position, although born in Massachusetts, he moved to Montreal with his family as a six-week-old baby and was raised there and in Toronto. Aside from a year-long stint in Boston, he lived in Canada until he graduated from high school and still has many friends in Toronto. "I've got a lot of abiding interest in Canada," he noted, casually, last week. Still, as Washington insider who tracks such things put odds of 70 to 30 on Lader.

Net that, in the end, it matters much the Canada U.S. relationship has been flourishing with a career diplomat, Thomas Weston, running the Ottawa embassy as chargé d'affaires. The problem for Washington is not substance, but perception. It certainly looks bad to go without an ambassador to your biggest trading partner for a full year—and counting.

ANDREW PHILLIPS



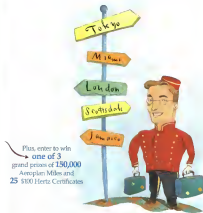
Blanchard Weston: no how for a year

31, 1996, to work on the President's re-election campaign. There is no special snub to Canada in the extraordinary delay, about 60 countries, including such powerhouses as Japan, Germany and France, also lack U.S. ambassadors. The standard explanation is that the American process for selecting and confirming ambassadors is so cumbersome that it is bound to drag on. But Clinton is taking so long to make up his mind that even state department officials find it hard to conceal their exasperation. Asked about the latest line on who the President might send to Ottawa, an official just threw up his hands and said, "I can tell you flat out—we have no idea."

The latest problem is the growing scandal over how the Democratic party raised its election funds. High-profile ambulatory posters usually go to political supporters of the president—who, natu-

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WORLD **THE** BRITAIN

Sex and chickens

Diversion dominates in the election campaign

BRUCE WALLACE

IN LONDON

So what if the polls are not even close? Halfway through a campaign that can barely be called a race, the British general election is nonetheless discharging lively entertainment. It begins with the tabloid magazine's longless pictures of Tory MP and self-declared family violence guru Boris Marchant attacked at the lips to a blond, 15-year-old nightclub hostess who was one of his campaign volunteers. Forget health care. The suitability of Marchant to run for office dominated the opening week, sustained when two other Tory candidates withdrew from the campaign over sex scandals of their own. Marchant, however, predicted his innocence and refused to quit, granting the photographers who camped on his doorstep what they really desired in these cases: pictures of the "love rat" squawking with an apparently lividizing wife. Marchant fights on.

Kingston-upon-Thames sex scandals then surfaced the front pages to challenge. When Labour leader Tony Blair took a look at his 20-point plan lead in the polls and decided there was no percentage in riding it by debating John Major on national TV, the first-time Tory prime minister called Blair "a chicken." Tory strategists, anxious for anyone to pin the Blair headline, dressed an unemployed musician in a yellow-embroidered costume and sent him off to stalk the Labour leader. In turn, The Mirror newspaper (a mostly sports-and-sex tabloid) chose slogan posters "Lips to Labour" sent a chicken of its own into battle. Feathered have flown. The Mirror chicken fought the Tory chickens. A Tory group officer had to guide the Mirror chicken to the pavement when it tried to accost Major one morning. And the Tory chicken has spent most of its time at Labour's dinner table, as Blair's supporters are to nip at his head off. Only one has succeeded so far: The chicken, says the phantasies



Front-runner Blair in Bristol, the focus stayed off any issue that could damage him

at Tory headquarters, "will continue to flutter around" until the May 1 poll day.

Nothing, however, matched the tanks frenzy that followed the entrance into politics of BBC war correspondent Martin Bell as an "armchair" candidate against Tory MP Neil Hamilton. The holder of one of the most Tory seats in the land, Hamilton is accused of—and has partly admitted to—secretly taking cash and gifts from terrorists sweet Mohamed Ali Fayed in return for lobbying on his behalf. Like Marchant, Hamilton ignored the hints from Tory hawks to drop out of the race. So the opposition parties awarded their tips and hit on the idea of pitting their cockroaches in front of a double-independent crusader who might have a chance of defeating Hamilton. They settled on Bell, a correspondent celebrated for his brave and impassioned reports from the Bosnian front, who told a packed news conference near Westminster that he was "as unpolitical as you get."

Unfortunately for Bell, that self-incensement was right: he is a political animal in the worst sense of the word. When he moved in the affluent north-west England constituency with a national media in tow, Hamilton bargued up to him in a playground-

style confrontation and demanded to be treated as innocent until proven guilty. Strangely, Bell agreed, leaving open the question of why, then, he was running, and what "innocent" he was rooting out. A day later, the former war reporter suddenly discovered the language of the political press. He said he was running only to answer a popular groundswell in the constituency (where he had spent a third of one day before he left). And he attacked his former employers at the BBC for "biased" coverage against him. "Martin is a pompous prat whose candidacy is a stunt, a gimmick, and wholly unrepresentative," says Guardian media columnist Roy Greenslade. Hamilton was even more exact about his rival. "He seems like a tiny little fellow admitted for politics."

What Bell and the chicken and Marchant's indiscretions have done, however, is keep the headlines away from any issue that could damage Blair. The Tories wanted to fight this election on the economy, which is enjoying a good run at health. But they lost the just

for the process first in the week-long campaign. "The Tories are playing stupid politics," says Bob Worcester, the deputy of Britain's pollsters. Worcester points out that on the issues voters consider to be most important—health care, education, unemployment and pensions—Labour is overwhelmingly ahead in the country polls. The Tories have a big lead in handling the economy. But Major—when he can be heard above the cries of "innocent"—has instead attacked Labour's constitutional policies and its ties to trade unions. Neither move is of much concern to voters.

As the campaign heated into its final three weeks, the Tories got some broken from a couple of polls that showed Blair's lead, narrowing slightly. "Blair is cracking under the strain," cheered Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine, the Tories' most qualified political street fighter. Conservatives have pinned on a couple of Blair flip-flops and now think they can pin him in an untidy way. They seem set to open a noisy, negative campaign. The promises were great, but hard to hear, but two years of attacking Blair have not dented his poll numbers. "Nothing, not even a war, could lose this election for Blair," says Worcester. Not even the chicken. □



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World NOTES

INDIA'S UNCERTAINTY

India Prime Minister H. D. Deve Gowda resigned after losing a no-confidence vote in Parliament. He then agreed to stay on as caretaker leader while fully contesting an election in new government would be formed at new elections held. Last May's election left Parliament splintered. Deve Gowda, the third prime minister in a year, fell after his powerful Congress party withdrew from his 15-party coalition, blaming him for economic ills and rising Hindu nationalism.

PEACE FOR FOOD

Growing reports of famine in North Korea may lead the isolated nation to agree to peace talks with archrival South Korea, as well as the United States and China, at a meeting this week. Pyongyang officials admitted for the first time that 400 children had died from malnutrition, while a visiting U.S. congressman reported "severe famine" in the countryside brought on by two years of summer floods. U.S. officials believe North Korea may be willing to talk about a peace treaty to replace the shaky 44-year-old truce on the peninsula, in return for assistance. The UN World Food Program has asked for \$120 million in food aid to help the country's 34 million people.

NETANYAHU AND LABOUR

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said he was considering bringing the opposition Labor Party into his government to gain a "national consensus" in advance of negotiations on a permanent peace agreement with the Palestinians. The peace process came to a virtual halt after Israel began new housing construction in West Bank in mostly Arab East Jerusalem. Violent clashes continued on the West Bank after two Jewish students in Hebron opened fire on Palestinians, killing one. Two more died in a street battle.

HONG KONG RIGHTS

Proposals to curb civil liberties in Hong Kong after its 1997 return to China drew fierce criticism from the territory and from overseas. By week's end, officials said they might have to reconsider the draft plan, involved by Tung Chee-hwa, who will lead Hong Kong after the July 1 handover. The proposals would ban foreign fund-raising for political parties and place strict controls on demonstrations.



RETURN TO VIMY:

First World War veteran Cynil Martin, 97, of Edmonton attends ceremonies in Vimy, France, marking the 60th anniversary of the battle for its famous ridge. In the background is a memorial to the carefully planned 1917 assault, which many historians view as a coming of age for the country. The 100,000-strong Canadian Corps, fighting at a snail for the first time, took the seemingly impenetrable hill in days, after British and French troops had failed badly. The Canadians lost 3,568 men. Martin was one of its survivors of the war, aged 17 as a VC, to attend the ceremonies. "It brings back mixed memories," he said, "some very sad, others, well, very glorious."

Mobutu tries to hang on

After 33 years of dictatorial rule, President Mobutu Sese Selo was last week Rebel leader Laurent Kabila and his armed forces controlled half of Africa's third-largest city after capturing Lubumbashi, Zaire's second-largest city, as well as the diamond centre of Mbuji Mayi and the strategic, mineral-producing southern province. Kabila issued a 72-hour ultimatum giving the embattled Mobutu, who is suffering from prostate cancer, until April 13 to resign. The rebel chief threatened to march on Kinshasa if Mobutu refused, which could plunge the capital into civil war. But despite mounting internal pressure and the loss of support from much former allies on the United States and Belgium, Mobutu seemed determined to cling to power. He initially asked Etienne Diabombi, prime minister, then ousted him days later after the popular opposition leader offered cabinet posts to the rebels. Mobutu chose as his ally Gen. Laulu Bakanga, as the new premier. Kabila immediately announced that his objective was "the restoration of public order" and threatened a crackdown on civil liberties. Nevertheless, Mobutu's days seemed numbered. "Mobutuism has no future," said Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Dierckx, "and we have to see how to get to a transitional government."

A German court accuses Iran's leaders

A German court unleashed a diplomatic storm after it concluded that Iranian leaders ordered the killing of four Kurdish dissidents in a Berlin restaurant in 1982. Twelve witnesses testified its ambassador from Tehran and expelled four Iranian diplomats. Iran replied with a list of 100 names and a host of European countries called their envoys home from Tehran as well. In sentencing on Iranian and three Lebanese, the court said the gangland-style slaying was ordered by a secret committee whose members included Iranian President Ruhollah Khomeini and religious leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Iran denied the charges and insisted the trial was "political."



Hard at work at ITT's Ottawa school, the odds is worsening

Desperate for help

BY D'ARCY JENISHI

Joseph Reese sounds excited—like a kid talking about a new circle of friends—when he discusses the employees who have joined his company, Tandem Semiconductor Corp., since the start of the year. The Kanata, Ont., firm, which develops computer chips, has recruited a manager of human resources, an applications engineer, a design engineer and a vice-president of research and development. By the end of the year, says Reese, Tandem's marketing manager, the company hopes to fill another 27 positions, boosting the payroll to 82. But even with offers of competitive salaries, generous fringe benefits and stock options, finding those people will be a enormous challenge. "There's been an explosion in demand for skilled designers, so we have to go out and get it," Reese says. "They're not going to come to us."

Tandem's trouble in the high-tech sector has a similar problem. Across the country, as many as 20,000 persons in the software industry are going begging. Desperate employers have had up

Software firms are crying out for workers with the right skills

salaries—entry-level jobs now fetch as much as \$40,000 annually—by at least 10 per cent over the past two years. The federal government, bowing to industry pressure, has even agreed to a temporary easing of immigration rules to allow between 1,500 and 2,000 additional software designers into the country this year. "The shortages have been a chronic problem for the past decade and the fact is that they're going to get much worse," said Guyton Francis, president of the 200-member Information Technology Association of Canada, based in Mississauga, Ont. "There isn't a simple solution."

On the contrary, demand for computer programmers is expected to skyrocket around the world over the next two years as companies, governments and public institutions tackle the so-called year 2000 problem. Most of the world's existing computers are programmed to identify years by their last two digits only—meaning 99, for example, to mean 1997. Unless they are updated—a time-consuming, laborious process in most cases—they will assume that the day following Dec. 31, 1999, is actually Jan. 1, 1900. Bank comput-

ers will fail, multi-million companies will not be able to issue bills and governments will be unable to issue drivers' licenses. "We heard about one Canadian company that could use 10,000 programmers purely for this year 2000 challenge," says Peter Ward, whose Toronto-based recruiting firm specializes in the computer industry. "Employers are just sucking people from the marketplace at a tremendous rate, and the talent isn't there."

Compounding the shortage is the fact that industry's net information is chock-full, as growing by 15 per cent to 20 per cent a year, according to some estimates. Besides running desktop computers, software is now a vital component of telephone systems, bank machines, photocopies, automobiles, refrigerators and VCRs, to name only a few. "We're getting better tools and they're faster than ever," says John Stannison, director of resource management with Montreal-based DMI Consulting Group Inc., which develops, maintains and operates information systems for other companies. "The world is automating."

At the heart of the information technology revolution are the software designers and engineers, but there simply are not enough of them to go around. "We have 200 to 300 jobs open at any one time," said Ward. "Recruiting is probably at an all time high. The contesters are unbelievable. We had one person come to us looking for a position and we got him an offer that was close to \$10,000 more than he was making. When the employer got wind of it, they counter-offered another \$20,000. So

that person went from about \$80,000 a year to \$90,000 in a couple of weeks."

Besides paying more, employers have had to become super-innovative and aggressive when hiring. For example, Tandem and several other Ottawa-area technology firms are organizing a recruiting road show. They will travel to several Canadian and U.S. cities, rent several rooms and invite computer firms to drop out resumes at once in job interviews. What ever approach they use, companies must make decisions quickly. "The challenge is to move fast enough to hire people before the competition does," Stannison says. "You used to have weeks to talk and negotiate. Now, you've probably got three days, especially in places like Ottawa, which is Canada's high-tech center."

Another issue facing software companies is the exodus of talent to the United States. Ward says he has attended job fairs in Toronto where half the participating firms were American. U.S. recruiters are also showing up in greater numbers on Canadian university campuses. Arnold Dick, associate chair for the University of Waterloo's undergraduate computer science department in Ontario—one of the top 10 locations of kind in North America—said that the 35 U.S. companies visited the campus in search of programmers during the 1992-1993 school year. This year, the number jumped to 100, even though only 300 students will earn undergraduate degrees in computer science.

U.S. recruiters often offer higher salaries than their Canadian counter-

parts and, in some cases, signing bonuses. "The [U.S.] firms are we're being lured is up to \$50,000 [U.S.]," says Gordon, co-executive director of the Software Human Resource Council, an Ottawa-based organization dedicated to, among other things, increasing the supply of programmers in Canada. "That's for a kid coming out of university, and that's not even his salary."

Despite the opportunities, industry executives say that too few Canadian students are enrolled in postsecondary computer programs. Gordon Salas, president of Next Technology, a division of Brampton, Ont.-based Northern Telecom Ltd., said that his company hires about 400 graduates a year, or about 20 per cent of the Canadian students who earn computer science or electrical engineering degrees. "We're not educating enough students to go into the technology field," said Salas. "We have to find a way, as a corporation and as a country, to promote this type of education."

As part of an effort to solve the problem, Salas's company recently sent 2,500 copies of the CD-ROM titled *Next to Learn* to Canadian high schools. Containing video and text, the CD-ROM leads students on a "virtual study" tour of Next's research and development centres in Ottawa and allows them to obtain information from 50 employees who work there. The Software Human Resource Council, meanwhile, is pursuing two initiatives to alter elementary and secondary students' attitudes toward computer courses. One is a speaker's package that software professionals can rely on when addressing students, the other a program that would allow teachers to communicate, via e-mail, with programmers. "Kids don't understand the job opportunities that exist in information technology," Gordon says.

Still, there are a few signs that the supply of software specialists may be on the upswing. Admissions to the University of Waterloo's undergraduate computer science programs have risen to 575 this academic year from 340 three years ago. There has also been dramatic growth in enrolment at private-run institutions that offer computer programs. The ITI Information Technology Institute Inc., a publicly traded company with schools in Halifax, Montreal, N.B., Ottawa and Toronto, will produce 1,300 graduates this year, up from 269 in 1990. ITI students, who must have university degrees, pay \$17,000 for a nine-month course, but the school claims that more than 90 per cent of its will quickly land jobs in the sector. "We're seeing an explosion of growth of private-sector education," said Dausky. "They're reacting to the market much faster than universities and colleges." But not fast enough, he concedes, to fill all the vacancies in Canada's burgeoning software industry. □





The Home Office

One of the fastest growing market segments is the small business home office. As communications and office technology becomes more powerful and compact, more people are motivated to operate small businesses from home than ever before. A recent survey of 400 new business entrepreneurs showed that 69% intended to operate out of their homes. Here are a number of excellent office products for the Home Office:



Canon's BJC4800 Color Bubble Jet Printer is designed to bring a brilliant array of colors and applications to your home office. It comes equipped with Canon Creative 2.0 software and PhotoStitch™ technology to create everything from stationary to brochures and T-shirts.

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Ross Laver Personal Business The bungling at Bre-X

The tale of Bre-X Minerals Ltd. and its associates, all signs point to the company in Barroto is riddled with unanswered questions and mysterious plot twists. But on one point there can be no doubt: the company's treatment of its shareholders during the past several months of confusion and financial turmoil has been appalling.

That has little to do with the issue of whether there really is a huge gold deposit at Bre-X. Wild rumors and informed speculation notwithstanding, that matter will be settled only when Bre-X makes public new drilling results from Toronto-based Strathcona Minerals Services, probably in early May. With any luck, those findings will reveal whether Bre-X is at the gold field of the century, in a massive deposit, or a relatively modest one whose scale was blown out of proportion by faulty geological work and assaying of core samples. (What if, worst case, some mining gurus and investors were leaning last week to the latter explanation?)

What's surprising is the large number of investors who continue to have faith not only in Bre-X but in Bre-X management. On CBC Radio's Cross-Country Checkup last week, after other callers bashed games on Bre-X founder and CEO David Walsh, the formerly bullish stock promoter who built the company into what was, for a time, a \$6-billion enterprise.

To many people, Walsh is a hero, a junior mining Barbra Streisand whose efforts transformed hundreds of early investors, himself included, into millionaires. But there is nothing about the way Walsh and other Bre-X executives have handled the Bre-X controversy. At a time when investors are starved for information, the company has repeatedly withheld details about its Indonesian operations and delayed the release of material—such as the purported handwritten letter written by Bre-X geologist Mike De Guzman—that might, at the very least, help clear up some of the confusion.

A case in point was a document put out by Bre-X last week describing its sampling and

testing procedures at Bre-X. For more than two weeks, analysts and media reports had stated that Bre-X sampled all of the core samples itself before sending them to its in-house assay lab—offering credence to the theory that the samples could have been faked. Yet according to this latest report, the company actually delivered "untested" rock to the assay lab. If that's true, why on earth didn't the company say so sooner?

Perhaps Walsh believes that his supporters aren't smart enough to comprehend such technicalities. Not long after the Bre-X controversy blew up, Walsh promised to release a detailed report by Rikenna SNC-Lavalin, the engineering firm retained in 1996 to assess the size of the gold deposit. A day later, he changed his mind—insisting that the report was too complicated for investors to understand. Finally, the Toronto Stock Exchange and the Ontario Securities Commission stepped in to release the report, which proved to contain nothing new. In the meantime, how-

ever, Walsh's Day-Top had left investors scrambling for information and given rise to a whole new batch of rumors.

Bre-X shareholders will also recall Walsh's contradictory statements on Bre-X's ownership of Bre-X. Throughout most of the Bre-X saga, the company claimed a 50-percent interest in the richest portion of the deposit. But in February, when the Indonesian regime forced Bre-X to give up half the deposit, Walsh simply dismissed those who "mistakenly thought that we somehow owned 50 per cent of the property." Two days later, under pressure to clarify whether that had important implications for the share price, he reminded us of his original story, adding that Bre-X had "agreed to reduce its ownership interest to 45 per cent in order to satisfy the national interest of the people of Indonesia." (In other words, the regime made him say what he couldn't refuse.)

Bre-X may or may not be a hoax. Either way, Bre-X management has been cowardly, even tragically, inept. Investors have been taken for a ride.

Whether or not
Busang is a hoax,
the company's
handling of the
affair has been
comically inept



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EGGLETON TALKS TOUGH

Trade Minister Art Eggleton said Ottawa will not give in to pressure from U.S. farmers to cap Canadian wheat exports. The government did agree to a one-year limit in September, 1994, when wheat exports soared to 2.8 million tonnes. But exports are less than half that now, Eggleton said.

MORE CASH FOR EATON'S

T. Eaton Co. Ltd. borrowed more money to keep its stores in business. GE Capital Services, which originally loaned Eaton's \$200 million, has lowered its loan exposure to the retailer to \$100 million, while Royal Bank will put up \$80 million, bringing the total to \$280 million. Meanwhile, an Ontario judge ruled that Eaton's does not have to dip into an investment trust that funds credit-card operations to pay the \$200 million it owes creditors.

SOUTHAM SALE UPHOLD

The Council of Canadians, a nationalist lobby group, lost a court bid to block Conrad Black's takeover last year of Southam Inc. The Federal Court of Appeal dismissed the bid without requiring lawyers for Black's Hollinger Inc. to present a case. The Southern by-out gave Black control of 40 of Canada's 935 English dailies.

REPAK SEEKS SAVIOR

Repak Enterprises Inc. of Montreal said the failure of its proposed merger with Montreal-based Avon Inc. has forced the paper company to consider putting itself on the block. Quebec's huge Caisse de dépôt pension fund played a key part in making the \$2.7-billion merger, leaving the combined debt would be too high.

LENDING A HAND

The federal government agreed to give Spar Aerospace Ltd. of Toronto and the Canadian Space Agency \$267 million to build a robotic hand for the International Space Station. The hand, equipped with sensors that allow it to "feel," will be completed by 2001.

KNART SUPPLIERS ALERT

Knart Corp. assured suppliers that Knart Canada Ltd. is not on the verge of bankruptcy. In a letter, however, the U.S. parent said it would consider selling the Canadian operation. Some suppliers have sold their Knart debts to so-called vulture funds.

A new driver for Ford

As the most senior woman executive at Ford Motor Co., Bobbie Gault has often travelled a lonely road. Last week, that route led the 46-year-old Pittsburgh native to the top spot at Ford's Canadian subsidiary, succeeding Mark Hutchinson as president and chief executive. Gault becomes the second woman to head the Canadian operations of a Big Three automaker, following Canadian Motors' Kempton Darlow, who became president and CEO of General Motors of Canada Ltd. in June, 1994.

Gault joined Ford 25 years ago after both GM and Chrysler told her they did not consider women for management positions. Choosing the corporate ladder at Ford has not always been easy. "At times, I felt a little on the outside or a little bit lonely," she told *Maclean's*. One of her biggest challenges is Ford of Canada, she said, will be working with dealers to



Gault at the wheel: opening big changes for the industry

strengthen the number 2 automaker's distribution system. In both Canada and the United States, for example, Ford wants to slash delivery times to dealers from about 75 days now to less than 15 days. To some extent, Gault's appointment reflects the increasing influence of women consumers who, along with automobiles, are the industry's fastest-growing markets. Last year, women bought almost half of all new cars and 36 per cent of light trucks.

Surfing the boob tube

In the latest bid to merge telecommunications and computers, software giant Microsoft Corp. paid \$800 million for WebTV Networks Inc., a California maker of setup boxes that enable TV viewers to send e-mail and browse the Internet. Microsoft expects Bill Gates hopes WebTV's technology will extend the company's reach to the 60 per cent of North Ameri-

can households that do not own a computer. Together with the rest of the computer industry, Gates is also vying for a major share of the anticipated multi-billion-dollar market for digital TVs. The U.S. Federal Communications Commission recently approved a nine-year timetable during which TV broadcasting will convert from analog to digital transmissions. Despite the hype, WebTV's sales so far have been slow.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

The Canadian dollar dropped to a two-year low of 71.52 cents (U.S.) after Bank of Canada officials hinted they are not planning to boost interest rates soon. Ironically, the dollar's drop will only increase the pressures on the bank to raise rates. Further pressures on the dollar is likely over the next few weeks amid speculation that the U.S. Federal Reserve, which raised rates a quarter-

point this week, could reveal the expected reveal of consumer expenditures.

—Royal Bank

"Something will have to give. Either the dollar falls further into a tailspin, or the Bank of Canada discovers enough confidence in the recovery that it can afford to raise short-term interest rates modestly."

—Canada Trust

CANADIAN DOLLAR

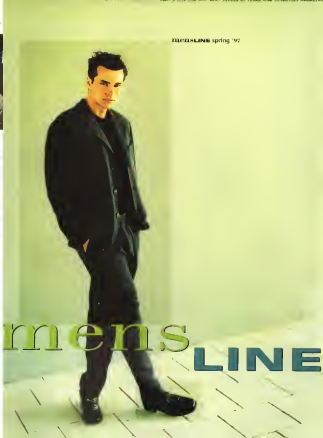


"Given the fragile state of consumer confidence, higher borrowing costs at

"The recent rise in mortgage rates is likely to have only a limited impact on the housing sector; consumer confidence is bouncing back, incomes are picking up and affordability remains quite high."

—Neider Burn

MAGAZINE spring '97





be good. be bad. just be.

cK be. The fragrance for people. Calvin Klein



photos, left: reports, hair and length: midday: midday: photos, styling: rachel: midday

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— here's the lowdown
on how to get the best,
cleanest shave
with your electric razor
and what to do to go
from grey to gorgeous
— plus, the hottest
new Spring fragrance
introductions and a
roundup of all the best
and newest skin care,
fragrance and personal
care products to keep
you looking and
feeling great..

come clean

...with an electric shaver!

Plugged in

So why should you use an electric shaver? One reason is that the very latest ones are so technologically advanced, the new shaver, the Intenza, has a free-floating integrated cutter positioned between two, platinum-coated foils.

Not facial hair is caught and cut by the foil's first blade; the remaining longer hairs (often matted by wet shaving) are trimmed by the integrated cutter, and then moved off closely by the second blade.

Then there's the razor-foam — you don't need water or shaving foam and you don't have to keep remembering to buy new blades. All you have to do is re-charge it regularly and you can throw your electric shaver in your pocket, briefcase or gym bag and use it just about anywhere. Five o'clock shadow becomes a thing of the past, and you don't really need a mirror!

If you have sensitive skin, you'll likely find that an electric razor is more gentle. Using an electric shaver also

helps prevent ingrown hairs because it cuts the hairs longer, so they won't be as likely to grow back in.

Just a little prep

When you get up in the morning, don't beg right into the bathroom and start shaving. Try having your shower first, because the warm water will open your pores and soften beard hair so it's easier to cut. Then, to let your skin get perfectly dry, go have breakfast or a cup of coffee.

Before shaving, do apply

IN THE OLD DAYS, hardly any men were clean-shaven. Why? Mainly because it was such a production — you had to heat the water, strop your straight razor to a keen edge, lather up your shaving soap and then hope you had a steady hand that morning. Or, you summoned up your nerve and braved the barber's blade. It's no wonder those old razors were called "cut-throats"! WELL, times have changed since then and today, you've got lots of options. Beards, mustaches and sideburns were certainly the in thing a few years ago, and many men still do wear them with great panache. But the look today is clean, sharp and sleek, and many experts feel the best way to get it is with an electric razor.

one of the many pre-shave products specially designed to help your electric shaver work at its peak of efficiency. Why should you bother? Because they will set up the beard hairs and prepare skin so you have a clean, dry, even surface to work with. Your shaver will lose that irritating tendency to drag, and you'll end up with a smoother post-shave skin. Just look around the men's grooming section at your local drugstore, and check the labels to make sure you get the right product for your skin type.

ACQUA DI GIÒ



GIORGIO ARMANI

pampering

post-shave

...
your
skin
appreciates
it

Doing the deed

Before you start your shave, check your razor. The that little brush that comes with it (you did keep it, didn't you?) to fluff out any loose hairs that may be caught inside, remove any stubborn hairs by gently blowing into it. Never bang it in the side of the bathroom vanity and, whatever you do, don't drop it into the sink!

If you're using the battery option, be sure the razor is fully charged, because if not it can't do its job efficiently and you can get nicks or nuzzles there, and even some nicks or cuts.

While shaving with your electric razor, pull skin taut, this will allow it to cut hairs as close to the skin as possible. And, any shavers that may have been lying flat against the skin will stand up, making them easier to cut.

Be remember to shave against hair growth; if you don't, your nose will just grow some hairs, and flatten them.

After shave care

Shaving with an electric razor is as fast, easy and straightforward, there's almost more to your after shave routine than to your actual shave!

You're not still slapping on an alcohol-based after shave, are you? Stop now, because if you're doing so, you're drying your skin and promoting dryness, flaking and that most unappealing "afterburn" look. It's a nice color, but not on your facial hair area!

You'll do much better by applying a soothing lotion. While any good-quality, light moisturizer will do the job, your local drugstore's shaves are loaded with

after shave balms, lotions and post-shave soaps, many in formulations for different skin types.

Some after-shave product lines are even designed to provide different sensations -- soothing, relaxing, invigorating. And, if you want the cooling sensation of an alcohol-based after shave, there are several after shave products that while they formulate as alcohol-free, do promote this feeling without the alcohol sensation.

You might also look around for after shave products that do double duty as skin care treatments as well, besides soothing, some tone, some exfoliate and some offer anti-aging benefits.

Sensitive, irritation-prone skin really needs a rich moisturizing cream and do make sure it's hypoallergenic and fragrance-free -- just check the label.

If you have a favourite deodorant fragrance, try checking out its matching bath and body line, many include a scented after-shave balm or lotion.

It's also a good idea to choose an after-shave product that contains an SPF of at least 15. Remember, sun exposure is cumulative, so even if you're not planning on hanging around in full sun, don't forget about your sunscreen.

Fuzzy face

If you do prefer to wear a beard or mustache, make sure you trim it consistently, maintain the ragged edges, and keep it well-groomed around the mouth and jaw line.

It's also a good idea to choose a beard or mustache cream that contains an SPF of at least 15. Remember, sun exposure is cumulative, so even if you're not planning on hanging around in full sun, don't forget about your sunscreen.

Remember to keep your beard and mustache meticulously clean, otherwise you risk unsightly flakes. If it's too late and the skin in those areas is already flaking, use a medicated shampoo on your beard or mustache.

Try one formulated with an anti-fungal agent or one containing salicylic acid or salicylic acid plus, which encourage skin to exfoliate. Don't, however, use any tea-based products on your hair!

Now, a final glance at the mirror and you're ready to go. By the way, a recent Psychology Today survey indicated a "cultural preference for clean-shaven men", especially among women. So aren't you glad you shaved?



"LE MALE"

Jean Paul
GAULTIER

New that Spring is finally here, your fragrance should be as fresh and light as the breeze. Here's the scoop on three subtle new fragrances just right for this season.

Scent...



Get the message

After all these years of strong, masculine fragrances, aren't you ready for something different? Something light, subtle, non-intrusive that you can easily wear in the boardroom

and the boardroom? Look no further — Chrome Azzaro offers a fresh, vibrant option.

The fragrance contains mostly citrus notes, which make a fun, lively impression; even more freshness comes through with the green notes at its heart. Then, precious woods take over to guarantee a long-lasting, memorable effect.

You've likely seen the ads for Chrome Azzaro, so you may be interested in the concept behind them. The idea is to showcase a simple, genuine, easy-going relationship shared across the three personalities of men in the photograph.

And this is what Chrome Azzaro is really all about — a sense of masculinity, serenity and balance, without artifice of any kind. You can wear it no matter what your mood or the occasion. Chrome Azzaro gets your message across.

Living on the edge

If you're an active, self-reliant man, your needs are simple — functional, versatile personal accessories that fit into your lifestyle. Wenger, maker of the genuine, original Swiss Army Knife, now offers you new, invigorating Swiss Army fragrances.

It's fresh, clean and long-lasting, and so subtle you can wear it anywhere, anytime; but, non-retrospective though it is, it sends out a very masculine, sexy message.

And, you'll love the packaging! Inspired by the Swiss Army's historic, standard-issue canteen, the bottle is set inside a brushed aluminum container, which looks just like the canteen. The cap is fashioned after Switzerland's most famous export — you guessed it — the Genuine Swiss Army Knife. Evoking forest metal charms and the familiar and safe.

You can experience Swiss Army fragrance in Eau de Toilette Natural Spray, available exclusively at The Bay — Watch for After Shave Splash, After Shave Balm, and Shaver Gel, coming in September.



If the mood

Why do so many fashion designers come out with fragrances? Most agree that fragrance is the final, essential accessory, and they want to be sure that their carefully thought-out clothing designs are properly complemented, regardless of their mood.

Swiss designer Giorgio Armani was in a lively mood when he created Acqua di Giò pour Homme, and the result is a complex, intriguing fragrance with a wild, free attitude and a provocative hint of mystery.



So, should you wear Acqua di Giò pour Homme? Definitely, if you project an image of casual elegance, are honest with yourself and others, and enjoy caring, sensitive relationships. The high spirits and sparkling freshness of Acqua di Giò pour Homme also speak to your own inimitable sense of humor and carefree attitude of *je ne sais quoi*.

Then there's the bottle, with its simple, vital silhouette and softened edges for a strong, elegant impression. Discreet, unpretentious and very masculine, it's easy and comfortable to hold, too.



ÉGOÏSTE
"PLATINUM"

CHANEL

going...going...going...
grey...what to do?



There's no doubt about it — a head of grey hair can be gorgeous. The late Cary Grant was suave and sophisticated; Clint Eastwood has a definite rugged appeal; and Sean Connery went from slick to stunning when he let his hair go gray...but what if you're not ready to go gray or you want to look as young as you feel or you just prefer your hair the colour it always was? No problem — ask us! You say you'd rather not look like you applied a can of shoe polish to your hair? You think you'll annoy people of Bella Lugosi in *Dracula*? Stop worrying — with the new technology developed by leading haircolouring manufacturers, your coloured hair will look as natural and healthy as it ever did.

GREY HAIR—facts and fallacies

Just because you're greying, doesn't mean you're getting old — the average man starts to go grey in his 30s.

What causes hair to go grey? Lack of melanin, melanin is a pigment which determines the colour of your hair. As we age, the production of pigment gradually slows down, then eventually stops. As more pigment means grey or even white hair.

One of the more aggravating things about greying is that your head or mistakes you go before your hair does. That's because, for some unknown reason, the greying process tends to move "up" the body. It starts with the chest hair, moves to facial hair and finally hits

the hair on your head.

Does grey hair make you look old? Not really, but it can make you look older than you really are; and if you don't like the idea of it, it will certainly make you feel older.

Nice...and very. Of course, you could go to a salon to have your hair coloured, but who has the time? And you certainly don't need the expense. If you can shampoo your hair, you can use the newest hair-colouring products on the market at home.

Leading haircolouring manufacturers have invested a lot of money to come up with formulas that do the job fast, are so easy to use and have natural looking results.

You just shampoo the product in, and by the time

you're finished shampooing and rinsing, your grey is completely blended away!

It's a standing joke that men never read directions. Well, haircolouring manufacturers spend a lot of time and money testing and re-testing their products, so they know what they're talking about.

Just this once, put your machines on hold and read and follow the instructions carefully.

Shade statement

You'll find that the products available come in anywhere from five to eight shades. Make your shade selection carefully — it's almost always better to choose a shade lighter than you think is right.

Why? Because as you age, your skin tone usually

gets a little darker and if the shade you selected is too dark, the contrast may create a more dramatic, and hence more noticeable, look than you're aiming for. You can always go with a darker shade next time.

How often?

That depends on a number of things. The more often you wash your hair, the faster the colour will fade. If your hair is coarse and wavy, it will retain colour better and longer than fine, straight hair. Different hairtypes will cover grey areas better than others.

Generally speaking, you should re-apply your hair-colouring after about four to six weeks, or when you notice a preponderance of grey, or when you feel the time is right. See how flexible it is!

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CLAIROL

SAY GOODBYE TO

Fast, easy, natural-looking: that's MEN'S CHOICE, the new way to blend away gray.



m with little changed in the last 25 years. Recent studies on men's grooming habits show that you color your hair color the way you want to color your hair. And since it's ammonia-free, Men's Choice gives you consistent, long-lasting, natural-looking color in a way that you can use to color your hair the way you want to color your hair. And since it's ammonia-free, Men's Choice gives you consistent, long-lasting, natural-looking color in a way that you can use to color your hair the way you want to color your hair.

Thank to a new non-drip gel formula, Men's Choice is easy and fast to apply, and works in just five minutes. It is so simple to use as shampoo and provides deep conditioning for your hair will look and feel noticeably fuller and thicker than before.

For more information on Men's Choice or other men's haircoloring products from Clairol, call 1-800-CLAIROL.

*CLAIROL IS A MERCK COMPANY, 7001 N. BRISTOL, MIDDLETOWN, CT 06457-1000

going...going...grey...what to do?



What about my beard?

Yes there *are* options here, as well. Typically, facial hair is coarser and thicker than the hair on your scalp, so it's easier for the hair-colouring formula to penetrate.

You can opt for one product that says it's specially formulated for beard and mustache hair, or go with another that claims its formula is the only one that can be used on both facial and head hair.

Each of these products is in



a thick, deep blue gel format; comes with a special application brush and a mixing tray, and, there's usually enough for several applications.

Looking natural

Just remember that the whole idea

behind this is not the, shall we say, jarring look of cross-dressing basketball star Dennis Rodman. What these hair-colouring products offer you is a chance to blend away your unwanted grey and return to your original colour.

If you carefully follow the directions, you should end up with a natural, believable colour that's virtually indistinguishable from the shade you were born with.

Of course, any chemical process has the potential to stress out your hair, so if you colour, it's more important than ever to use a conditioner every time you shampoo, and a deep conditioner every few weeks.

Make sure you select conditioning products specifically designed for colour-treated hair so they're formulated to replenish lost moisture and counteract the effects of processing.

Any suggestions?

The two newest men's hair-colour-

ing products on the market are Olden's Men's Choice and Gosh's Just for Men. Both work in five minutes and offer a range of shades to choose from.

Men's Choice is a semi-permanent, meaning that it washes away in approximately 12 to 24 shampoos, and its formulation works with the natural pigment of the hair to deliver consistent colour results and healthy-looking hair.

Gosh says its product is the only one available on the market that works equally effectively on hair and facial hair; the product package contains one head application, or one head and one facial application, or three facial applications.

Just For Men comes in two formulations: Shampoo In Hair-colour, and Wash-In Colour Gel for Mustache, Beard and Sideburns.



Gosh says its products are fast and easy to use, and have a long-lasting, natural effect. Plus, Wash-In Colour Gel for Mustache, Beard and Sideburns has special comb-tamers that leave facial hair softer, without that hoarse feel.

These products are **no-commitment**, since they wash out gradually over about a month, and there's not any drastic colour change. So, what are you waiting for? All you have to lose is your grey!

BE PREPARED.



INTRODUCING A NEW FRAGRANCE FROM SWISS ARMY™.

EXCLUSIVELY AT THE BAY

Swiss Army® Brand® Perfumes® designed by Robert Gosh®. Perfumes by Gosh® are 100% alcohol-free.



Wave Fun

Tommy Hilfiger's fragrance, *tommy*, is classic with a twist, *tommy* is a fresh clean, crisp scent with ingredients gathered from the North American landscape. It expresses all kinds of good things about growing up—good times, first loves, road trips, teenage, open and fun, *tommy* takes you back to special people and places. At the Bay and Eaton's, 100 ml, \$40.

Kick It

Are you man enough for *Tommy For Women Duet*? This rich, more vibrant version of *Tommy* deliciously crosses the line from romantic to provocative. *Duet* isn't for the faint-hearted or indecisive. Only the passionate man who lives life to the fullest will wear it—and accept the consequences. Exclusively at Holt Renfrew, 50 ml, \$41, 100 ml, \$60.



Solve problems

Lab Series for Men is the streamlined range of fragrance free, high performance problem-solvers for men's skin and hair. Each of the technologically advanced products is easy to use and guarantees results. Love it or we buy it back! Exclusively at Holt Renfrew. Active Treatment Scrub, 515; Soap, 515; Shampooer, \$11.50.

Think classic

Azzaro In the Fragrance for the man who says the least and does the most. That is the classic men's fragrance—warm, provocative, unmistakably masculine. *Azzaro* has a timeless appeal, and makes a compelling, lasting impression. Exclusively at Holt Renfrew, 50 ml, \$31, 100 ml, \$48.



Report

A QUESTION OF

Style

Whether it's long, short, or somewhere in between, your hair makes a statement about you and creates a strong first impression. In fact, enhancing your image can be as easy as changing your basic hair style or coloring your hair. And with today's advanced products, men have more options than ever...it's a question of style.

Q. I remember my father colouring his hair, and it didn't look natural. Now that I'm starting to go grey, can I colour my hair and still have it look natural?

A. Yes, thanks to the latest advancements in haircolour technology developed by the makers of JUST FOR MEN®. JUST FOR MEN® haircolour keeps your natural colour while it blends away the grey. And, its special conditioning formula leaves your hair healthier looking, softer, and easier to manage.

Q. I've never coloured any hair before and am worried I won't get it right. Should I go to a salon or can I really do it myself at home?

A. If you can shampoo hair, you can colour your hair with JUST FOR MEN® 5-minute shampoo-on haircolour. It's the fastest, easiest formula that you simply lather in. And in the time it takes to shower or shave, your grey is gone.

Q. How do I make sure I pick the shade that's right for me?

A. It's almost always better to go a shade lighter than you think you need—you can always go darker the next time. That's because as men age, the tone of their complexion often changes and lightens up. So a slightly lighter shade of hair colour is usually the most natural choice.

Q. How long should I leave on the hair-colour formula?

A. The most important advice to remember is to read and follow the directions. Manufacturers of men's haircolouring have tested and re-tested their products, so the timing they suggest is the timing that will give you the best results. JUST FOR MEN® gives you total flexibility. It comes with complete instructions that enable you to get the look you want—from a subtly blended colour enhancement that just tones down the grey to a full, rich, colour-creative shade. With JUST FOR MEN®, you're always in control.

Q. How often should I colour my hair?

A. The general rule of thumb is to wait 4 to 6 weeks between applications or whenever the grey begins to show up again. The actual timing depends on such variables as the type of hair you have, the style, and how often you wash it. Otherwise, it's really up to you—you can colour your hair when you want to reappear and you think it needs it.

Q. My beard has turned grey before the hair on my head. Can I use hair-colouring on my beard and mustache?

A. Yes—but you may not get the results you want. That's because facial hair is typically coarser, thicker and harder to penetrate than the hair on your scalp. And the reason your beard has gone grey before your hair is because the greying process usually moves "up" the body—starting with the chest hair, then facial hair, and finally to the hair on your head. The good news is that now there's a product made specially for colouring your beard, mustache, and sideburns called JUST FOR MEN® brush-on colour

gel. It's specifically formulated, and is ideal for blending away grey or evening out "patchy" colour on your beard, mustache and sideburns.

Groom & Zoom

5-Minute "Look Great" Check List

You don't have to meet a lot of time to look like a million bucks. Just give yourself a five-minute "look great" check list before heading out the door.

- ✓ Are you cleaner first?
- ✓ Hair clean and styled?
- ✓ Face clean/facial hair groomed?
- ✓ Deodorant applied?
- ✓ Teeth brushed and flossed?
- ✓ Hands and nails clean?
- ✓ Cologne or aftershave applied sparingly?
- ✓ Remember, the mirror is your friend, so consult it before leaving the house!



JUST FOR MEN

Shampoo in Shampooer and Gel in Colour Gel available in 5 exciting shades from light to dark

photos: gill reports, hair: paul taylor, makeup: michèle jones, styling: carrie richmond

Keep your natural looking haircolour - blend away the grey.



Give me water!

Now you can experience the fresh, natural, water-inspired fragrance of L'Oréal's new Eau de Toilette. In two exciting new forms, jump start your morning with Fluid Body Gel - it absorbs fast to refresh and moisturize your skin. Then, top off your grooming routine with Alcohol-Free Deodorant Spray, specially formulated to both prevent and catch perspiration, leaving you feeling fresh all day.

Just smell it

We'd love to tell you all about Paco Rabanne's new fragrances, pain, but you'll just have to smell it for yourself! We can tell you that it has an environmental theme - no excess packaging. Just a recyclable aluminum can without an outer carton or a cap. And, there's only one product - a 100 ml Eau de Toilette spray. So ahead, just smell it!

Ego boost

Do you have an elegant, self-confident, charming personality? Are your tastes refined? Are you a masculine type who's passionate and tender? Then Égoïste Platinum is the fragrance for you. Fresh, invigorating, crisp and woody. It lasts all day but makes a very subtle impression. The complete Platinum line of fragrance and bath and body products is at your Chanel counter!



Saving face

Love your clean-shaven look, but hate skin irritation and dryness? Shave Face Relief is a refreshing, alcohol-free after-shave splash that gets the red out fast! Or, try Cooling Nektar Aftershave Treatment, with jojoba and stone-rose extract to moisturize and

Hate that grey?

Gray and not too thrilled about it? Check out Clairol's Men's Choice, a new combination hair/body color kit. You customize it to meet your individual needs, and it blends away gray in just five minutes without altering your natural hair color.

soothe shave-framed skin - and, you get the cooling sensation of alcohol without afterburn or irritation.



A convenient, easy to use shampoo-in gel, Men's Choice gradually washes away over 12-24 shampoos.



"My men wear English Leather or they're nothing at all."



ENGLISH LEATHER
Cologne for men



two black velvet candles, and it's the fragrance of, for only \$60.00. Available at major department stores, while quantities last. It's the classic freshness with masculinity, for a man or a woman. It's, as distinct, it's, as distinct as each individual who wears it.



A cut above
Get ready - when
you get your hands
on Swiss Army
Fragrance, there's no
talking what will
happen! You know
what you want, and
you go out and get
it. You want the
same versatility and
quality as your
fragrance as you get
from your Swiss

Army Knife. Swiss Army
Fragrance is as fresh, pure and
irresistible as the air on the
Swiss Alps - and it's masculine
and sexy, too. Eau de Toilette,
100 ml, \$45; Spray Refill, \$48.

A new image

Enhancing your image can be
as simple as getting
rid of that grey! And,
Just For Men
Shampoo-In-Deodorant
gives you just the
look you want,
whether it's a subtle
reflex boost to tone
down grey or a full,
rich shade. Just For
Men Wash-In Color
Gel is specifically

formulated for beard,
mustache and sideburns, great
for blending away grey or
covering out patchy color.



English Leather
The strong, confident man will
love the cool, refreshing scent
of English Leather. Packaged
in a solid clear bottle with a
sleight wooden top, the
fragrance opens on a strong
fresh top note; at the heart is
a fresh floral
blend, based
on warm,
scented wood
notes. The
product line
consists of
After Shave,
Cologne and a
complete range
of personal
grooming
products.



English Leather is ideal
for Father's Day! Watch for a
special promotion which offers
attractive savings on
several of English
Leather's best selling
items.

English Leather can
be found in department
and mass merchandisers
across Canada.



New attitude
Aqueo, sparkling and
with a touch of
mystery - that's what
Aqueo is all about. Designed for
the contemporary man
who is secure and
comfortable with
himself, Aqueo is all
sophisticated casual
elegance and a happy
spirit and sends out an
intriguing, provocative
message.

Be mine...be yours...
This Spring, Calvin Klein offers
you a combination of Eau de
Toilette with spray, 500 ml,



QUORUM



BONUS!

3 piece product gift with purchase

CONTAINS:
• 50 ml. shaving foam
• 30 ml. after shave balm
• 30 ml. bath & shower gel

FREE with minimum \$34 purchase
(not including taxes) of



SEARS
SEARS CANADA INC.

QUORUM

Gift one per customer
Available until April 30th while quantities last.

STETSON



EASY TO WEAR, HARD TO RESIST.

The Nation's Business



Peter C. Newman

The needless agony of a besieged city

Spent a nice afternoon recently sitting with a third of many years as a Montrealer, running about the city we both love. He is one of those wonderfully local Canadian, a highly influential power broker who professes himself on having prevented some of the worst excesses in the political wars that have raged between Quebec and Ottawa for three decades. Trusted by both sides yet beholden to neither, he was able, once and again, to resolve quarrels that threatened to escalate out of control.

It had been so easy, once. Many a leadership crisis was resolved on the basis of the participants' shared memories of a stimulating seminar at Lunenburg, a casual summer encounter in Provence, or a mutual passion for minor French cheeses.

But that was before Lucien Bouchard, before the misty dream of Quebec independence turned into a deadly outcome. Although Bouchard has managed to disarm a few hapless federalists by appearing willing to compromise, those who are close to the action harbor no doubts that the secession leader is merely playing for time. They believe Bouchard is losing up the essential strands of support for that moment when he becomes convinced a referendum vote is viable, and will then pull the plug on Canada.

Knowing all this and more, yet tired of the blame laid forth—as an oligarch and learned man who had outlived his city and his usefulness. "The situation is very serious, and I am speaking from a good information base," he told me. "The way people are moving in the government of Quebec is to court confrontation at future strategic moments. We must recognize that nationalism in Quebec is a deeply rooted movement that will not go away no matter what we do. My own inclination is to stop trying to woo the sovereigntists, and to instead facilitate their leaving so there isn't irreversible damage inflicted on either side."

In the days that followed, I encountered many similar lamentations. Instead of the joyful destination it once was, Montreal has become a place to escape from, a besieged city on the brink of surrender. Even in our hotels, on one of those Surferdilly busy streets that run down the hill from Sherbrooke Street, people were trading apprehensions, nervously plotting escape routes for themselves, their families and their cash. The latest trend among the wealthy is to set up overprotection tents in overseas jurisdictions, not to escape taxes, but to insure their fortunes safely tucked away, in case the newly independent Quebec Republic decides to tax private capital, or slips an exchange controls to cut off the expected gush of currency outflows. One of the lawyers I interviewed, the most senior partner at one of the city's most prestigious law firms, expressed astonishment that the majority of his clients requesting such overseas protection are Quebecois business leaders. (One reason may be that

most of the Anglo and Jewish money has already been evacuated.) One of Montreal's most dedicated pro-Canada activists is Jonathan Weiner, who along with realtor Philip O'Brien, organized the giant, last-minute rally that saved the 1995 referendum, after the feds came close to hanging the country away. The head of Casdell Ltd., one of the city's largest privately owned construction companies, Weiner is preparing for the next round. "My kids are seventh-generation Canadians," he says, "and I love this place. I'm constantly challenged to look for alternate corporate locations, but I'm holding on to it for reasons that I believe have nothing to do with money." The company's assets, which were up to \$400 million in 1989, have been decimated. "There are no construction cranes on the Montreal skyline at the moment," he gloomily observes.

"Our rally," he recalls, "came out of the frustration that I felt that not enough of an effort had been made, that the 94 forces were slipping in tremendously, and that there was need for dramatic action. It was an idea on a Friday, put into action on Monday, and executed four days later, the last weekend before the referendum. When I saw that number of people in that outpouring of emotion and the press releases in which it was all condensed, it made me very proud. What it didn't do was a world lot of grassroots movements to take control and start to have things happen. I don't necessarily agree with the partitionists, but the logic flows: if Quebec is separable from Canada, then parts of Quebec should be separable as well. Maybe there should be a Bloc Montreal in the Quebec government."

What there be another city, if there was another referendum? "Probably," Weiner says, "but it wouldn't be the same. Muddling through isn't going to work next time. Only something revolutionary, something out of the main political stream will do the trick. What I find so hard to accept is the meanness of spirit that the Bouchard government has shown by attacking people who were part of the rally. At one point I almost hoped they would change me, because I certainly would have gone to jail over the issue as a matter of principle."

Weiner has opened five new businesses since 1995, but none are real estate or construction oriented. "They're mobile," he says, "they can be run from anywhere."

Meanwhile, Montreal is digging in for what most people here regard as the final confrontation: the referendum expected in 1996. I leave my friend in the bistrot and walk down Crescent Street, across a boulevard of clothes boutiques. The display window of a shabby furniture store accurately captures Montreal's current discontent. Perched on the arm of a fine, white-crowned crane, a bird, which by the proprietors of the abandoned shop, is a hand-lettered sign that reads "Au revoir."

Greatness depends on leadership—of cabinet, of party, of country

SPECIAL REPORT

Historians Rank the Best and Worst Canadian Prime Ministers



1. William Lyon Mackenzie King

BY NORMAN HILLMER AND J. L. GRANATSTEIN

Candidates on the verge of an election, and this will likely be the last opportunity Canadians have to vote rationally in the 20th century that was supposed to belong to them. The polls suggest that Jean Chrétien and his Liberals will be re-elected. History suggests it, too, because Canadian prime ministers last a long time, if they last at all. Since 1867, our leaders who served more than a few months have averaged eight years in office, four were in power for 15 years or more. From this perspective, Chrétien might even expect a third term. But if longevity is assured, re-election is not. It is too soon to say with any certainty how Chrétien will be remembered, especially

Canadian Prime Ministers

when he will probably have another chance to make an impression on the public and historical imagination. Will he be inscribed in the history books as the leader who reinvented Canada and Quebec, or as the man who presided over the destruction of Confederation? Will historians write of him as the wrong hand that put Canada's fiscal house in order, or write him off for fudging his promise to eliminate the GST and weakening social programs? Will he rank as a great or average prime minister, or just one of those forgettable figures who are scarcely known to anyone but a few scholars who speculate in fabled hooves?

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING:

"He was, after all, the spiritualist and other jokes about his private life, our greatest prime minister. He tried to understand the country; he was capable of intellectual flexibility and change, and he attracted and held able colleagues. He was an intellectual who was sympathetic to ideas—our first."

—Patrick Brown, assistant professor of history, University of Calgary

2. Sir John A. Macdonald



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD:

Having defined the role of prime minister, Macdonald exalted at it. At succeeding prime ministers with his shadow. The first minister of the CPR scandal and the moribund National Policy are the arguable failures of a career whose success was to define modern Canada."

—David Smith, professor of political science, University of Saskatchewan

Readily lost power in 1890 and missed the worst of the Depression until his restoration in 1896, his greatest years in office by sheer dint of Mar. A decisive action any guarantee of success. Macdonald's boldness in building the Canadian Pacific Railway and bringing British Columbia into Confederation, although it was separated by hundreds of kilometers of all but uninhabited prairie from the rest of Canada, is frequently seen as demonstrating his greatness. By contrast, Pierre Trudeau's handling of the October Crisis in 1970, Joe Clark's attempt to raise energy taxes in 1979, and Brian Mulroney's initiation of the Meech Lake accord were daring moves, but all reaped, at the least, controversy.

The scholars thus found their task tougher than they had expected. AS were well aware of what University of Saskatchewan political scientist David Smith called "the matter of reverse perspective: characters growing larger the further one is from them." Smith also argued that Canada's prime ministers have very little in common. "Rather than being a set of equals," he said, "they are actually unequal and therefore comparisons are probably misleading." Carleton University's Blair Neatby responded, however, that "we are not comparing apples and oranges. They were all leaders of political parties and that has meant achieving party unity in the face of strong regional loyalties. They were all trying to govern a country suitable for the business system by a precarious national sentiment, a powerful and not always sympathetic neighbor, and cultural duality."

3. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

SIR WILFRID LAURIER:

"With Meedon [Laurier] remains the most important prime minister. A partisan of national unity, he indeed courage during key moments, which hurt the realization of a brilliant Canada."

—Rita Hénault, professor of history, Université Laval

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL

THE RANKING

GREAT:

1. William Lyon Mackenzie King
2. Sir John A. Macdonald
3. Sir Wilfrid Laurier

NEAR-GREAT:

4. Louis Riel/Laurier

HIGH-AVERAGE:

5. Flora Elliott Trudeau
6. Lester Pearson
7. Sir Robert Borden

AVERAGE:

8. Brian Mulroney
9. Jean Chrétien
10. Sir John Thompson
11. Alexander Mackenzie
12. R.B. Bennett
13. John Diefenbaker

LOW-AVERAGE:

14. Arthur Meighen
15. Joe Clark

FAILURE:

16. Sir Charles Tupper
17. Sir John Abbott
18. Adam Turner
19. Sir Mackenzie Bowell
20. Kim Campbell

positive criteria to be employed were not articulated, the historians could, judge as they chose. We did say "but such factors as electoral success, electoral unity, success in achieving domestic or foreign policy goals, and leadership in coherent, party, and country must be considered."

The survey results are revealed in these pages. In the collective judgment of our panel of scholars, the greatest prime minister Canada has produced was William Lyon Mackenzie King, with John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier placing second and third. Our very worst prime minister? Kim Campbell, who led the Tories to their current low estate.

Greatness or failure depends on a host of factors, not least a combination of character and circumstance—and chance. King for-

gets prime ministers who served only a few months. Some considered these to be failures by definition and dismissed them at once with a wave or one; others forced it all but impossible to rate them and left leaders like Sir John Abbott, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, John Turner and Campbell unranked. It was also obvious that a lesser figure who had been the subject of a fine, modern full-length biography—Sir John Thompson, one of Macdonald's successors in the early 1890s who died after only two years in office—was better placed as a result. Prime ministers like Macdonald, King or

Lester Pearson, the subjects of big, favorable biographies, also masked well. Historian (and Liberal member of Parliament) John English's two-volume study of Pearson, the standard by which prime ministerial biography is now judged in Canada, almost certainly helped his man in the ratings. "To get praise or condemnation in Michael Bliss's influential *Eight Men*, a 1994 best-selling survey of prime ministers from Macdonald to Mulroney, nearly always affected ratings. Among the 25 historians were five young scholars, but there were no generational variations in the ratings—young and old were all just indistinguishable. So too were rankings by women and men historians and, although there were minor regional variations, nothing led us to conclude that Maritimers or Quebecers reacted one way and westerners another."



4 Louis St. Laurent

As far as unglorified examinations pointed in, it became clear what characteristics historians valued in a leader. They looked for a coherent vision of the country and well-articulated goals in domestic and foreign policy. They expected a solid record of achievement, not least in getting elected and staying in power. They sought leaders—of cabinet, of party, of country. For peace, national unity, coexistence and overcoming Canada's geographic and linguistic divisions, was the dominant factor in determining a prime minister's ranking. Failures here made inroads into the prime minister's historical all but certain. Not surprisingly, as a result, Liberal leaders tended to rank higher. Under Lester, King, Louis St. Laurent and their successors, the Liberal party has paid more attention to Quebec in this century than the Conservatives. Historians paid attention, too.

Laurier was the historical's sentimental favorite. The first French-speaking prime minister, Sir Wilfrid was clearly, by a superb order in both languages who devoted his life to trying to bring Canadians together with the best of intentions. Any old day in a politician, although one who created a huge debt from a railway policy based on a combination of optimism and ignorance. Laurier almost always received high marks for his combination of intellect, charm and vision that gave rise to his performance from 1896 to 1911. "He under took the challenge of leading a nation as much divided as united," commented Françoise McKeown of the University of Toronto. His most recent biographer, René Dussan of Université Laval, added that Laurier's "vision of Canada...his leadership gave his country the push forward and the confidence it needed at a critical moment in its history."

The same can easily be said of Macdonald, another of the Greats, though the academic affection is less for "Old Tomorrow," the nation's first prime minister. The creator of his country and one of the longest-serving prime ministers, he set the pattern for Canadian political leadership. Shrewd, ambitious even though weighed down with personal grief, Sir John A. used his abundant wit, endless resources of patronage, clear good sense and unstoppable energy to build the institutions of government and frame of party politics that still survive. He brought in new provinces, initiated the National Policy of tariff protection and western settlement, and won election after election, "said," wrote Patricia Ray of the University of Victoria. He failed to keep French Canada happy and left no clear heir. Dennis Stairs, the Dalhousie University political scientist, called John A. "a bit of a meek, but he understood power—how to get it, how to keep it, how to use it."

Leaders far too tough to preside over boom times also scored

PIERRE TRUDEAU

"Compared to his talents and genius, Trudeau was the disappointment of the century, a shrewd politician when he had to be, but a leader who left Canada dramatically more divided and drastically poorer than he found it."

—Doris M. Martin, director, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada



7 Sir Robert Borden

well, the assessment reflecting the view that some credit was to be given to the government that managed the economy. This tended to benefit Laurier and al-

so Saint Laurent, who ranked fourth overall and was the sole prime minister to rank on a Near-Grand, Angela Sauer of the University of Winnipeg gave Saint Laurent credit for moving the country "with dignity through the early Cold War" and for containing war immigration into "a better, kinder society." Highly intelligent, decisive and good performer in two of his three elections, Saint-Laurent governed so effectively through the 1950s that some contemporaries—and a few historians—tended to downgrade him. With his able cabinet behind him, Saint-Laurent made government look so easy, his aide J. W. Pakenham used to say, that Canadians thought anyone could do it—and that explains why they elected John Diefenbaker in the first Tory to take office in 29 years.

The Clark's powerful skill as a campaigner and his vision of "One Canada" were praised, but University of Calgary historian David Bercuson labelled him "Canada's Richard Nixon, the perpetual outsider." Diefenbaker's personal and political ineptness, and his falling into traps with American President John F. Kennedy, led historians to rank him 18th out of the 20 prime ministers—at the very bottom of the average category. "Inspirationally but intellectually," wrote the thoughtful characterisation offered by the University of Ottawa's Jeffrey Reiman.

War-time service as prime minister created opportunities but also increased dangers. Sir Robert Borden, the First World War leader, was flawed by some assessments for his meek solid character, his British Empire diplomacy and for his reform of the civil service. Others credited his failure to keep French and English Canadians aligned and for his bargains with the devils of Wall Street and Quebec nationalists in the 1901 free trade election, which brought him into power. Moreover, Borden single-handedly overruled military service in 1917, safely dividing Canada in the process and losing him



5 Pierre Trudeau



6 Lester Pearson



8 Brian Mulroney

BRIAN MULRONEY:

"He was a good prime minister, especially when regarded in terms of economic policies and attempted constitutional amendments. While I agreed with his approach to Quebec, he had to contend with the centralist ethos Trudeau inspired in English Canada and that probably sunk him."

—Henry Brydson, assistant professor of history, Mount Allison University

the support of many historians. For University of Montreal historian Scott Dussan, the Great War leader was "a resolute and tireless politician who led the test of national unity but succeeded brilliantly in giving Canada a place on the international scene."

Fourteen historians put King, the Second World War prime minister, first or tied for first. This might surprise those who know nothing of King beyond Dennis Lee's little poem ("William, Louis Mackenzie King/Lord his mother, how anything/Sir in the middle and played with string/William, Louis Mackenzie King") or social democrat F. R. Scott's searing comment that "the length of his service was to pile in parliamentary committee on a royal commission." Vancouver from time historian Geoff the scholar who worked with Diefenbaker and Pearson in vetting their memoirs, John Munro described King as "the most prolific person ever to become a Canadian prime minister." King was said to have commuted with agents who directed his political maneuvering, patronized prostitutes, and been obsessed with his



10 Sir John Thompson



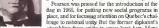
13 John Diefenbaker



9 René Lévesque

the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, received mixed report cards and ended in the fifth average category. Although Trudeau ranked fifth overall, this was a tribute to his longevity in office as much as anything. He was admired by many for his intelligence and for defeating René Lévesque in the first referendum in 1980. Many academics, however, believed that Trudeau had exacerbated difficulties with Quebec with his imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970 and the divisive struggle he waged leading to the passage of the Constitution in 1982, still others looked at his aggressive and his specific government with the rest of the national debt. As Duke University Canadianist John Reed Thompson remarked, "Future historians will find much less to admire" in Trudeau than contemporaries. Some strongly found little enough to admire—Dussan bluntly pronounced Trudeau a "resounding failure, both on the grounds of public finance and national unity."

Pearson was praised for the introduction of the dog in 1965, for putting new social programs in place, and for focusing attention on Quebec's challenge to national unity. But the former diplomat's standing from crisis to crisis hurt him. More than one historian claimed that he mortified at be-



12 R. E. Scott

a civil treaty and should be returned on time. Even though he said the election could not be managed to secure a majority in the two he was, Pearson made just a hair's breadth before Trudeau in the High Average category, primarily because, as president Jacques Monod of the Université de Sudbury said, he had "unparalleled high achievement" in office.

The other category was the "consensus," led by John Thomas, Alexander MacIntyre and the Great Depression leader, the blundering R. B. Bennett. Predictably, perhaps, the historians placed MacIntyre and Chretien in this category—rightly and, in truth, too soon to judge either man fairly. MacIntyre was asked for his stunning election victory and his long agenda of free trade and free constitution, but he was seen as a Guelph-Gladstone leader in bed with the Winkeles, the man who failed so miserably in his constitutional gambles and left office to hate by the Canadian public that it promptly destroyed his party in an act of calculated revenge.

Banachuk University of Manitoba historian Geri Ann Presser, "A primer for the country as the consequence of his free trade policy choices and his administrative failures (the roll of the dice at Meach Lake), but we did elect him—twice." Yet Donald Morton, of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada reflected the views of many others when he said, "I think he will have longer legs in history than he does now."

Chretien was criticized for his lackluster performance during the 1995 referendum, for cutting several programs, and for failing to live up to promises. Some noted that he was the only francophone leader in this century ever to fail to command a majority of seats in Quebec, while others remarked on his enormous task in facing a weak, divided opposition. But his first-finish government and his good advisors were the real story. "It is easy to underestimate Chretien," noted Peter Weiss from Halifax. "He is a considerable and capable politician and was a very good premier in the Trudeau government. With Chretien's appointments are decisive." "So far so good," wrote Michael Allison University of Prince Rupert, "and I suspect his term is not over yet."

The Low-average prime category was headed by Arthur Meighen and Charles "The Joe," in both men's sympathetic phrase was generally perceived as the man who threw away the precious opportunity to consolidate the Tories' hold on power in 1919-20. Joe's great sin was a lack of vision, an historic snafu, and he played it badly on the other hand, Margaret Connell, holder of the Nancy Rowell Jackson Chair in Women's Studies at Indiana's Mount Saint Vincent University, noted that Clark (and Campbell) "take him as my books when it comes to their understanding of, and response to, women's equality." Others commented on Clark's competence and dignity as a senior minister in the MacIntyre government.

Meighen, briefly prime minister after the Great War and again for a brief interlude in 1926, was considered highly intelligent but blundered, "an inadequate's inadequate," said the



14 Arthur Meighen



15 Joe Clark



16 Sir Charles Tupper



17 Sir John A. Macdonald



18 Sir Mackenzie Bowell



19 Sir John Thompson

University of Calgary's Patrick Brans, a party chief so sure of himself that he "never considered any reality that could not fit into preconceived theory." With bewildering skill, Meighen made himself the enemy simultaneously of big business and labor and of both Quebec and the West. He was the leader who would neither be right nor be prime minister.

The cabinet—Sir Charles Tupper, Abbott, Thomas, Bowell and Campbell—all governed for very brief periods and he is more accurately described in Presser's McKenna's apt term as "recycling" prime ministers. Tupper, Turner and Campbell all took office and promptly lost an election. Abbott and Bowell, the only two prime ministers to have held the post from the Senate, were among Sir John A.'s biggest successors, prime ministers valiantly trying to hold the old Conservative party together but without the Great Old Man's imagination, sagacity and patience.

Harsh judgments these, but realistic too. Academics form their judgments in the comfort of their studies, not in the fiery belly of politics. They cannot know what pressures truly faced the prime ministers, but they do bring perspective, a sense of the continuity of Canadian history, and a familiarity with the issues that comes from calm contemplation. Moreover, the historians understand the country's fragility. Canada is a nation of regions and national unity is more than just a French-English debate. However they define cultural cohesion, the great Canadian consensus that has bedeviled all our leaders preoccupies the scholars as well.

It is the early question that confronts Chretien as he faces the coming election and as apparently inevitable second term in power: The Liberal Prime Minister is clearly banking on his government's economic record to make the case for his party in 1997 and for his place in history. If in some periods suggest may happen, the Liberals must have a majority government that would help him down in the making of prime ministers. But the deficit has been tamed, there will soon be some money to rebuild social programs, and Chretien's trade protection efforts are creating sales and favorable publicity abroad, even if unemployment still makes stubbornly

high. A country that is prosperous once again might be a Canadian country—Chretien has to hope and believe that too.

No one knows when the next unity crunch will occur, though a third Quebec referendum is likely before the year 2000. We do know that Chretien's unique coalition of interests and talents will help shape the next prime ministerial term and beyond. Canada's destiny will be in the balance. Less important, so too will be Chretien's reputation in his lifetime and ever after. If he defeats Lucien Bouchard and the separatists, Chretien will rise in popular and historical popularity to Sir John A. and Sir Louis St. Laurent, if he loses, if the separatist movement is as wild in 1996, he will sink. His future and our future are intertwined.

Norman Wilson is professor of history at Carleton University in Ottawa. J. L. Greenblatt is Bowell Jackson Assistant Fellow at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto.

The panel that ranked the PMs

Francine McKenna, assistant professor of history, University of Toronto, specialist in Canadian foreign policy, trade and finance.

Peter Bayley, assistant professor of history, Mount Allison University, expert on the Premier.

Angela Sasse, assistant professor of history and German Canadian studies, University of Western, specialist in German foreign policy and ethnic history.

Art Kishin, assistant professor of history, University of Ottawa, specialist in 19th-century Canada.

Patrick Brown, assistant professor of history, University of Calgary, expert on the press and politics.

Patricia Ray, professor of history, University of British Columbia, expert on B.C. history, Japanese-Canadian.

Michael Bliss, professor of history, University of Toronto, author of a book on Canada's prime ministers.

David J. Reisman, professor of history, University of Calgary, widely published biographer of defence minister Brooke Claxton.

Craig Brown, chairman and professor of history, University of Toronto, biographer of Sir Robert Borden.

Rene Dennoche, professor of history, Université de Montréal, author of standard history of Quebec.

Peter Wade, professor emeritus of history, University of Toronto, author of biography of Sir John Thompson.

David Smith, professor of political science, University of Saskatchewan, expert on Liberal party in the West.

Michael Smith, Nancy Rowell Jackson chair in women's studies, Mount Saint Vincent University, author of standard text on Canada.

John Mann, freelance historian, Vancouver, host of Dufferinberg and Pearson memoirs.

Deborah Madsen, author of book on the study of Canada in Montreal, widely published author.

H. Blair Hargis, professor emeritus of history, Carleton University, biographer of Mackenzie Bowell.

Paul Bellingham, professor of history, University of British Columbia, biographer of Laurier.

John Reed Thompson, professor of history, Duke University, Durham, N.C., expert on 19th-century Canadian history, the West and Canada's U.S. relations.

Peter Hargis, dean of social science, University of Western Ontario, expert on Newfoundland and 19th-century Canada.

Jacques Monod, president, Université de Sudbury, specialist on the Crown and French Canada.

Devo Stated, McGill professor of political science, Dalhousie University, specialist in Canadian foreign policy.

Norman Wilson, professor of history, Carleton University, expert on 20th-century Canada, Canada-U.S. relations and foreign policy.

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A Dissenting View

Mulroney
succeeded where
Laurier failed



King with his dog. Not so visionary.

Historians suffer from peer pressure and they are as susceptible to fashion as the rest of us. But mostly they are cautious, anxious not to offend—unlike sociologists.

History is obscure. Wilfrid Laurier, we all do. He is a sentimental favorite, officially speaking on national unity or political pieties, a man praised in turning the other cheek. Called the Great Conciliator, he was born a compromiser. When Laurier did take a stand, he ended up standing alone. He misjudged the merits of the American, and the withdrawal of the British, in the Alaska boundary dispute, a costly lesson in the true value of sentiment in international affairs. Half the country abandoned him over the issue of conscription, and many of his best friends deserted him in the Ontario school question. He would say, with some truth, he laid "tiredful Liberalism."

But Macdonald succeeded where Laurier failed. Like Laurier, Mulroney built his own party in Quebec and used it to conquer the country. Considering that he was Irish, not French, and Tory, not Liberal, this was no mean achievement. And Mulroney gained the country on the issue of free trade, holding his party together largely by the force of his "suing ways" (as we said of Laurier, despite Tory traditions and suspicions).

The newer history comes to current events, the thicker the fog and the dust. John A. Macdonald and Macdonald King have long since survived the revisionists and the biographers. Our two greatest prime ministers were the most pragmatic: neither was a visionary. Macdonald's Canada was the creation of his pure political skills, his National Policy enough to unite the immigration of a scattered population of diverse and conflicting interests. Even so, it was a cleverer thing—and still is—but back then, Macdonald made the difference.

The claim that Louis Saint-Laurent was a New Great prime minister makes sense. He was our Eisenhower: a safe man in a post-war age of euphoria and prosperity. C. D. Howe ran the economy. Mike Pearson managed our international relations. Jack Pickersill plotted the strategy while the prime minister jangled his rick in Parliament, misjudged the public mood, and led his party to defeat. In 1957, the Liberals finally found themselves out of office.

Robert Borden was far more aggressive, both as politician and statesman. And he governed in harder times. If Saint-Laurent is our most overrated prime minister, Borden is the most under-rated. History has been more generous to Borden than the historians and Canadians are the poorer for it. After Macdonald, no prime minister did more to develop and define Canada, as an independent nation, than did Borden.

Dallas Camp is an author, political columnist and frequent commentator on radio and television.

It has been said of Saint-Laurent that he made the job of being prime minister look easy. For him, it was easy. Far less so for Mike Pearson, who never enjoyed a parliamentary majority, who was deeply embarrassed by his cabinet colleagues, and obliged to endure John Diefenbaker's enmity in the Opposition. And only Laurier was given a harder time by fellow Liberals in Quebec. Acknowledging the range of obstacles put in his way, Pearson's achievements in office, including his survival, are the more impressive. He was a better man than we thus far seem willing to acknowledge.

John Diefenbaker squared me, in other terms, the largest mandate in Canada's history. He was, I think, the most unlikely and least competent prime minister since Macdonald. How all. He drove his colleagues to despair and death. His friendships were rooted in sycophancy and his enemies were the product of accumulative spite for error. When in power, he would resort to coarse abuse and bigotry, provoked by others, which was often, he would stop to gossip behind the scenes. Full of himself, he was essentially a hollow man, insecure, insensitive, and if not paranoid, surely a corner. When he happened to be right, it was invariably for the wrong reason. And of course, he denied and created throughout his political life the best of the nation's fundamental and historic quality.

It is puzzling to note that our historians rank him as average, along with John Thompson, Alexander Mackenzie, R. B. Bennett, Mulroney and Jean Chretien. Few of them could have known him, as I did.

Macdonald is secure among my favorite prime ministers. He was the first of them to declare a lighted Macdonald enjoyed only one term in office, enough time to establish Canada's Supreme Court, introduce the secret ballot in federal elections, and to tell British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli that "loyalty to the Queen does not require a man to leave his minister's view, or her husband's, or her sex." He, too, ranks only as average with the historian, but not with me.

My own ranking was not a matter of comparing intellects, in which case Arthur Meighen and Pierre Trudeau would place near the top, or a contest of style, in which case Trudeau would rank only with Laurier. Of these more briefly stay the greyest pole, neither John Abbott nor Charles Tupper sought the pathless, while Thompson, who showed some promise, died in office early. John Turner and Kim Campbell had no opportunity to govern. Bennett was overwhelmed by the calamities of a world depression. Obviously it was an under contest.

Beyond, then, any conclusions, unreviewed and unrepresented, and without apology, subject only to the influences of further contemplation and future historians.

1 Macdonald 2 King 3 Borden 4 Laurier 5 Pearson 6 Mulroney 7 Saint-Laurent 8 Trudeau 9 Chretien 10 Mackenzie 11 Clark 12 Diefenbaker 13 Thompson 14 Bennett 15 Meighen 16 Camp 17 Bell 18 Turner 19 Abbott 20 Bowell

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Education NOTES

Downsizings— and uprisings

Across the country, education ministers are cutting back—and angry parents are fighting back. "Welcome to the other Ontario uprising," said Gerald Caplan, co-chair of the 1995 Ontario Royal Commission on Learning, speaking to 500 protestors on the lawn of the provincial legislature last week. While politicians have endorsed the fifth day of a filibuster over proposals to make Toronto a megacity, those out front were registering their anger with another controversial piece of legislation. If passed, the 194 would cut the number of school boards by almost half—and create a mega board in Toronto of 300,000 students.

Meanwhile, in New Brunswick, where school boards have been replaced by Parent Advisory Councils, one such council has refused to frustrate over governmental plans to eliminate Grades 6, 7 and 8 at Alma Consolidated School, 130 km northwest of Saint John. In the council's place has arisen a committee of concerned parents, which is lobbying Education Minister James Lefebvre to reconsider the decision. One reason it will require students to undergo a 120-km round-trip ride to Coleville Regional High. "Three hours in a bus on a snowy day?" asks parent Edmund Dore. "That's insanity."

High-tech, high costs

It's certainly one way for professors to keep ahead of their students—two time zones ahead, in fact. Earlier this month, the Richard Ivey School of Business at the University of Western Ontario in London beamed its first Executive MBA classes to students at the offices of Canadian Pacific Railway in Calgary. The cross-country initiative aims to call in smart commuters that give professors and students two-way audio and video contact. The high-tech hook-up will likely prove to be more popular than another recent innovation introduced by the school. Although Western has long charged full tuition for its Executive MBA, the university turned heads in business and academic circles last month when it announced plans to charge \$39,000 for its traditional, on-campus MBA. To soften the blow, officials will be leading successful applicants up to 75 per cent of the average starting salary of current graduates—as much as \$46,000 for students entering the program this fall. Graduates will have 10 years to pay up, and will not be required to make their first installment until finding a job that pays at least \$60,000 annually. In the world of business, success does not always come cheap.

A private boost for public schools

Education in Sydney, N.S., out the ribbon last week on a sparkling new junior high school, complete with a state-of-the-art library, big screen monitors in all classrooms, and an e-mail account for every student. Sherwood Park Education Centre is the first school in the province to open under ministry guidelines, introduced in 1993, that require all schools to be built and operated by the private sector, and financed by local school boards. According to acting deputy minister of education Doug Nassar, the new policy serves taxpayers the up-front cost of construction and equipment, while guaranteeing boards control over curriculum, standards and staffing. And a so-called technology refreshment clause requires the builder to ensure that all computer equipment performs up-to-date. Seven other such schools are currently under construction in Nova Scotia, and Nassar says that officials in British Columbia, Ontario, Newfoundland—and even China—have expressed interest. So far, Nassar, meanwhile, appears happy to be a part of the experiment. "With all the new technology, it's hard for kids to keep up these days," says Grade 9 student Danielle McNeil. "This should open a lot of doors."



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Full credit for a solid foundation

In an era of deep government cuts, universities are increasingly turning to the private sector to fund programs—often in such market-oriented fields as business administration, computer science and engineering. But occasionally less profit-driven initiatives manage to attract sponsorship. Earlier this month, officials at the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George unveiled details of a new, privately funded project to help students from rural and First Nations communities get a solid academic start. With \$700,000 from B.C. Hydro, Westcoast Energy Inc., CIBC and the Vancouver-based Mosaic Young Foundation, the Northern Advancement Program will offer eight first-year courses in writing and high-tech research skills as well as in traditional core subjects. And students will be able to count all of those courses toward any degree program at UNBC. "These kinds of students have traditionally had the most difficulty in adjusting to university," says Lee Morrison, UNBC's director of First Nations programs, who notes that the three-year-old university is located in the territories of 70 bands and 16 Indian councils. "Many have never learned on a computer, let alone learned how to use the Internet."

Mysterious moon

Could there be life on Jupiter's Europa?

On a clear night, with good binoculars, Europa can usually be glimpsed, most often as a tiny black disc shuffling across the marbled face of mighty Jupiter. Smaller of the great planets' four major moons, it has fascinated stargazers almost from the moment Galileo discovered it in 1610. For unlike the heavily cratered features of any of Jupiter's other satellites, Europa's ice-covered surface is unscarred, seemingly as smooth as a billiard ball. And that has long led scientists to suspect that beneath the moon's frozen



Europa, looking like frozen ice and cracks on the surface (left). No movement is a sign of internal heat.

spacecraft bearing Galileo's name detailed, up-close pictures of jumbled icebergs and cracked ice fields. "It is the clearest evidence to date of liquid water and nothing close to the surface," proclaimed scientist Torrence Johnson of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. "What we have found are the building blocks conducive to life."

The dramatic photos were taken on Feb. 20 as NASA's unmanned Galileo probe, which has been exploring Jupiter and its moons since late in 1989, flew closer to Europa than any spacecraft ever has—within 600 km. The images revealed at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., revealed Europa, only slightly smaller than Earth's moon, to be a bleak, ice-bound world not unlike the Canadian Arctic. Huge bergs, as much as five kilometres wide, rise from fields of fragmented pack ice, itself riven by cracks and fracture lines often extending for hundreds of kilometres. According to NASA's scientists, it all suggests movement of some sort, like polar ice during spring thaws. "The size and geometry of these features lead us to believe there was a thin icy layer covering water or slushy ice, and that some motion caused these crustal plates to break up," said Ronald Greeley, a planetary geologist from Arizona State University.

Not even NASA's scientists have a genuine idea of what may have prompted Europa's ice to move. Speculation ranges from the gravitational pull of Jupiter and the other jovian moons to the possible existence of undersea volcanic activity. In any case, moving water suggests a heat source—to keep it from freezing solid—and that, in turn, raises the possibility of extraterrestrial life. "I personally think it's quite a leap to suppose that some form of life might exist on Europa," said Joanne Matthews, an astrobiologist at the University of British Columbia. "But all the same,

the evidence does appear to suggest that there may be an oceanic Europa. If there's an ocean, there has to be heat to keep the water liquid. And it is true that heat and water are two basic ingredients for life here on Earth."

Sunlight does not appear to be a preoccupation, given by the evidence at the bottom of Europa's ocean. Strange craters flourish far from any light in the superheated water that boils from deep-sea vents—undersea volcanoes in effect—on this planet. Only last week, the journal *Science* published an article by two German chemists who argue that life itself may have originated in the rich chemical stew around deep-sea vents, rather than, as is more widely believed, in warm tidal pools on the planet's surface. Oceanographer John Delaney of the University of Washington in Seattle, for one, believes that something similar may have happened on Europa. "I'm sure there's life there," he said. "The water on Europa is in all probability rich in salt and other necessary chemicals from millions of interactions with rocks. Believing in, in addition, undersea volcanic activity, as happens on Earth, has likely encouraged life 'to bloom naturally.'"

Not everyone is as confident. Despite his enthusiasm for the possibilities, NASA's Johnson, chief scientist of the Galileo system, was careful to note that even the latest images may have reinforced the suspicion that life's building blocks likely exist on Europa. "There was no evidence directly bearing on life itself." For many scientists, the new Galileo images offer further evidence of the moon's worth, no matter what its eventual outcome of the search for extraterrestrial life. "With all work done back in 1989, there was a lot of grumbling about how boring it was going to be, exploring a gas giant and a bunch of moons nobody cared much about," said astrophysicist Scott Tremaine, director of the Cosmology and Gravity Program at the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research in Toronto. "Now, we are finding that some of those moons are actually quite fascinating places, capable of teaching us all a few valuable lessons."

Next more so, perhaps than Europa, the moon that Galileo first glimpsed almost 400 years ago. "Outside of it, it's probably the best chance a lot of us will have of finding out if we're alone in the universe," remarked UBC's Matthews. "All the other possibilities lie beyond our Solar System and that, obviously, is not in the cards for the near future." But Europa's is. The Galileo spacecraft will swing by the jovian moon again in November. And plans are already under way to test an ice-penetrating robot in the Atlantic in the hopes, someday, of finding an answer to the tantalizing question raised by the Galileo probe.

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Pirates of the airwaves

The first sign of trouble came when Joanne Douma received a call from her cellular phone company. Douma owns a small trading firm in Burlington, Ont., whose drivers carry phones on their deliveries to Quebec and the United States. Trouble was, her account showed more than 800 minutes of calls from Buffalo, N.Y.—far more than normal for the company. The problem, she discovered, was that the phone had been cloned—a high-tech crime in which a cell phone's electronic identity is surreptitiously copied and duplicated in another phone without the owner's knowledge. The clone can then be used to place calls, frequently interstate, which are billed to the legitimate subscriber. "The first thing that came to mind was, how much is this going to cost me?" Douma says.

Fortunately, Douma's carrier picked up the tab. But every year, in fact, cloning costs the cellular-phone industry hundreds of dollars, while inconveniencing subscribers and forcing them to obtain new numbers. It is a somewhat problem for an industry that is experiencing phenomenal growth. In the United States, where there are more than 40 million cell-phone subscribers, the annual losses from cloning total an estimated \$1 billion a year. In Canada, with about 3.5 million cellular customers, the bill is a comparatively modest \$5 million, but that number is growing rapidly. And effective tools to combat cloning are only now beginning to emerge. "There was a time when even the U.S. guys weren't so worried about these

types of fraud—and they clearly have experienced high levels of losses," says John Madasi, chief financial officer of Rogers Canal Inc. in Toronto. "Now's the time to put in place the infrastructure to protect our customers and ourselves—not when it reaches epidemic proportions."

Cloning is surprisingly simple. While an ordinary cell phone periodically emits a signal to let the network know where it is, the current generation of analog cell phones transmit a mobile identification number—the phone's 10-digit area code and number—as well as an electronic serial number. These two numbers are all a criminal needs to make calls on someone else's account.

A favorite technique of cell-phone pirates is to buy an 800-megahertz cellular-based scanner, available at many electronics stores, and modify it to capture the MIN-ESN data from the airwaves. Pirating frequently occurs in high-traffic areas, such as airports, where cell phones are constantly being switched on. Also popular are highway tunnels, because cell phones in cars typically transmit their MIN-ESN combinations the moment they exit. Cell pirates can also surf Internet hacker sites for the hardware and software needed to download the identity codes into another, probably stolen, phone.

The cellular industry currently uses several methods to detect cloning, but preventing it is much more difficult. If a ca-

son's monthly bill averages \$65 but suddenly shoots up, a representative of the carrier often contacts the subscriber. In addition, phone company computers can conduct so-called velocity checks. If, for example, a call is placed from Halifax, followed by another from Los Angeles 15 minutes later, the system flags the anomaly. The computer system can also be programmed to watch for so-called collocation—two calls using a single set of identity codes placed from different locations at the same time.

Once fraud is detected, the phone company can sometimes deny the clone access to the affected area. More often, as in Douma's case, the client has to put up with the headache of having the phone disconnected. "Let's face it, if someone has given out their phone number to a number of business associates," says Brian O'Shaughnessy, Bell Mobility's vice president of technology and planning, "you don't want to have to tell them, 'We don't call that any more—now call this number!'"

There are several ways for cellular users to tell whether their phones have been cloned. An obvious starting point is to check the monthly statements for unauthorized calls. Frequent wrong numbers or hangups could also indicate that someone else is using a clone phone. Subscribers can ask carriers to block access to overseas or North American long-distance service.

Ultimately, the industry is counting on a new security system called anti-cloning to prevent cloning outright. The system is in limited use in high-crime areas of the United States and is gradually being introduced to Canada, with widespread availability by 1999. With authentication, the carrier's network will "challenge" a cell phone to decode an encrypted signal. The key to decode the encryption is a complex algorithm that is stored inside the cell phone and never transmitted. As long as the cell phone can decode the encrypted challenge, the carrier allows the phone access to the network. The system, claims Warren Leonard, Bell Mobility's fraud and security manager, is "a total solution for the cloning problem."

Perhaps, but even the most sophisticated technology is unlikely to stop the pirates from trying.

DANIEL HAWALSHIKA

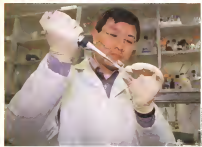


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Chang: 'on the right track to finding a way of wiping out early-stage cancers'

Cancer vaccine test

University of Alberta researchers may be close to developing an anti-cancer vaccine that could shrink early-stage tumors and prevent cancer cells from spreading to other parts of the body. Virgiline (Lung) Chang and the therapeutic vaccine being developed by the team is based on two human genes that play a key role in activating the body's immune system to attack and kill cancer cells. The Taiwanese-born Chang, who joined U of A in 1998, and the vaccine is produced by taking cells from a human tumor, transferring the immune-system-stimulating genes into the cells, then injecting the resulting vaccine into the patient. The prototype vaccine—developed

by Chang and neurosurgeon Ken Petráš—has already proved effective in tests on mice with immune systems that had been altered to resemble those of humans, Chang said. University officials announced that Phase II clinical trials, involving 50 patients in Edmonton with advanced cases of brain and skin cancers, will begin in June to determine the vaccine's safety. The trials are being funded by Biostar Bio Tech Inc., an Edmonton-based biopharmaceutical firm. Chang said that, if it proves successful, the vaccine should be effective against most kinds of cancer. Added Chang, "I think we're on the right track to eventually find a way of wiping out early-stage cancers."

New skin from foreskins

Canada has become the first country to approve the use of a laboratory-produced synthetic skin that can be used to repair hard-to-heal wounds in the human body. The material, called Apligraf and distributed by Montreal-based Novartis Pharma Canada Inc., is engineered using cells taken from infant foreskins; according to company officials, one foreskin can yield enough Apligraf to cover four football fields. Because the newborn's skin does not contain immune cells or other distinctive markers, there have been no problems of patients' bodies rejecting Apligraf. As the man-made skin—originally developed by a small U.S.-based firm—allows for wound to heal, the patient's own skin gradually replaces the transplant. So far, federal health officials have approved Apligraf only for use in treating venous leg ulcers, open sores that mainly afflict people over 60. But doctors say that Apligraf and similar products are likely to have wider application in the future for treating burns and other wounds.

Life extension

Despite an increased risk of breast cancer and other diseases, hormone replacement therapy can add years to the lives of most postmenopausal women, according to a controversial new report. An American study—based on a computer model that incorporated data from earlier surveys—found that HRT could add more than three years to the lives of most women. Earlier research data has suggested that HRT reduces the risk of heart disease and hip fractures in older women, while increasing the chances of breast and endometrial cancer. The Boston-based researchers, reporting in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, said their study should help women and their doctors to weigh the risks of HRT more accurately. But some critics objected that the study could lead to more cases of breast cancer.

Earlier puberty

American women are apparently starting puberty earlier, with 15 per cent of whites and 48 per cent of African American girls showing signs of breast development or pubic hair growth by age 8. Researchers at the University of North Carolina and a survey of 17,000 girls showed that average onset of puberty among whites now is at about 10 years, with African-American girls starting at just under 9. American textbooks put the average age of onset between 11 and 12. The study, published in the U.S. journal *Pediatrics*, speculated that chemicals that mimic the hormone estrogen, found in a variety of products ranging from plastics to hair-care preparations, might be a cause of earlier puberty.

Pill replacement

A long-term contraceptive that women can inject four times a year, available in Britain since 1970 and in the United States since 1992, has received Health Canada's approval. The department rejected Toronto-based distributor Pharmacia and Upjohn's first submission in 1992 because of earlier concerns that the drug, a synthetic version of the hormone progesterone marketed under the name Depo-Provera, could increase the risk of breast and cervical cancer. But the World Health Organization has since determined that the drug presents no greater risk than other hormonal contraceptives. The cost, at about \$25 for each injection, is roughly equivalent to that of oral contraceptives.



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CHATELAINE. WHERE CANADIAN WOMEN GET IT ALL, TOGETHER.

Joni's Secret



Mitchell and Gith in Los Angeles. Gith and Maria in Toronto (right); both were searching

When a pop legend found her long-lost daughter, a musical prophecy came true

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

*Born with the moon in Cancer
Choose her a name she will
answer to
Call her green for the children
that have made her
Child with a child pretending
Worries of her son are nothing
Joni's
So you sign all the papers on the
family name
You're sad and you're sorry, but
you're not ashamed
Little green, here a happy ending*

—Joni Mitchell's *Little Green*, from her 1971 album, *Blue*

In all there, encoded in the song. A true story of secrets and lies. The child "born with the moon in Cancer" is the baby that Joni Mitchell gave up for adoption. She felt she had no choice. At 21, she was Joan Anderson, 1961 poor and pregnant, an unknown folk singer in a Toronto rooming house. The girl was born on Feb. 19, 1966. The child's father, a Calgary artist named Brad Mac-Math, had, as the song says, disappeared "to California/hearing everything was warmer there." Joni balked at the prospect of being a single, destitute mother, and was not prepared to ask her parents back in Saskatchewan for help—they did not even know she was pregnant. She tried an desperate marriage of convenience, to a fellow folk singer named Chalk Mitchell, but it would soon collapse, leaving her nothing but a few survivors: "Worries of mine," as Joni sings in *Little Green*, she "handed all the papers in the family name," and sent her baby, Kelly Dale Anderson, into the unknown. Kelly, as in kelly green,



MacMath; Mitchell as Calgary young and destitute

was born. She landed a career as a fashion model.

But, as the song predicted, there was also sorrow. The mystery of Kilauea's adoption cast a lengthening shadow over her life. She says that her parents did not tell her she was adopted until she was 27 and pregnant with her own child. Kilauea then confided in a best-selling lifestyle magazine to track down her birth mother. Now

32, she is separated from the father of her son, Maech, who is almost 4. And a "happy ending" quite different from the one envisioned in *Little Green* has come to pass. In the past few weeks, amid a blaze of media attention, mother and daughter have reunited, their high cheekbones, blue eyes and long blond hair beamed side by side. The end pain and joy in my ink, but nothing like this," Mitchell told a reporter in Los Angeles, where she has lived since 1986. "It's an unparalleled emotional feeling."

The story reads like a fairy tale. But the tale is beginning to show some terrors. Mitchell, who is twice divorced, has not just gained a daughter; she has inherited an entire family, ancestors who have found themselves in the spotlight at a time of tremendous emotional upheaval. Losing Kilauea to her birth mother "was our greatest fear," adoptive mother Lila Gith told Maech's last week. "It was a nightmare that this would happen to us when she was little and when she was a teenager. Now, it is a matter to take. But it's still hard."

Kilauea, meanwhile, has had to cope with the excitement of finding her birth mother and becoming famous all at once. Hounded by reporters, she disconnected her phone last week and abandoned her apartment. Soon, she had handlers trafficking her, selling interviews and juggling requests from the likes of Barbara Walters, Oprah Winfrey and Larry King. "You can't imagine the onslaught of press from all over the world," says Mitchell's Vancouver-based manager, Sara Feilman. "It's so bizarre. It's something out of a movie."

The Joni-Kilauea saga is a story that has become too good for its own good. Its appeal obviously goes beyond Mitchell's mellowing stardom. It is about seeing the destinies of the famous and the unknown thrown together in a lottery blue twist.



of life. It's also a fabric for the baby boom generation, one that suggests matches can still be salvaged from the emotional losses of the Sixties. But above all it has played out on a very public adoption drama—and shed light on the dilemma faced by families whose adopted children seek out their biological parents (page 54).

What really complicates an already sensitive issue, however, is the fact that Kilmer Gibb's story has become a property. Seized by interview requests, Gibb put Mitchell's manager in charge of her publicity. And she also had her boyfriend, neurotic pop-star salesman named Ted Barrington, act as a go-between. After several days of trying to set up an interview with Gibb last week, Mitchell's family received a call from Barrington, who said it could be arranged for \$10,000. When told that Mitchell's dad would not pay for interviews, he became apoplectic. "It's all business to me," he declared. "The money's for 30 years. She doesn't have to put in a pin. She's a student right now [living on student loans while studying desktop publishing at George Brown College in Toronto] and she should really be able to get more than \$10,000 a year."

But what about her newborn birth mother? "You're upset, rich but not cash-rich," replied Barrington. Kilmer is a quiet, "quite intensely private. If you were in her position, and you were being hounded all day long, you'd say what the f---," said a peeling out of him, except a more bad-haircut.

Then he added, before hanging up, "If you've got an offer, let us know. You have to give your name first." Later, after talking to Mothers, Barrington phoned back to apologize. "I was out of line," he said, adding, "All the good stuff is at the back end with book deals and all that. I'm just worried about Kilmer being exploited. I'm just worried about her girlfriend."

Even Mitchell's ex-boyfriends, parents, Bill and Myrtle Anderson, have been swept up by the media blitz. "It's a sort of a lifestyle thing," Bill told Macdonald from his home in Saskatoon, "but some of the publicity isn't so entertaining as far as we're concerned. It's been hectic, especially for Myrtle. The phone's been ringing off the wall." Myrtle and Bill both say they are happy to discover their grandchildren, and a great grandson. "But I feel sorry for the adoptive parents," says Myrtle. "They do all the work and then suddenly they have a real 'I got husband' concern. 'The parents who brought the child up deserve a bit of credit, and sometimes we feel they're being overlooked,' he says. 'I hope they don't lose her.'"

Kilmer's parents live on a quiet crescent in Don Mills, in the same grey brick bungalow where they raised their children. They miss a visitor down to the basement, into a classic 1950s section with wood paneling and a red shag rug. Framed photographs of Kilmer and her sister, Barbara,

er, David (now a *Séjour* art director), cover the walls. Although David is not adopted, the siblings look remarkably matched, both blond and long-haired. There are glamour shots from Kilmer's fashion portfolio. David, who dabbled in modelling himself, strikes a modelled pose in white underwear. There is also a picture of a beaming David, as captain of the football team at Upper Canada College, being introduced to Prince Philip. Kilmer was educated just down the road from U.C.C., at equally exclusive Bishop Strachan School.

More photographs, hundreds of them, in albums stacked on the one room table, showing the children frolicking on beaches from Maine to Florida. A number of the pictures are marked with loving captions such as "my two chicks," and they are all meticulously dated. "I would say we had a happier family life than average," says Ida. "We were very fortunate." Before retiring, she taught teenagers with learning disabilities and her husband taught at a teachers college and worked at the ministry of immigration. "When David was 3½, we were doing very well, and we wanted to share it with someone," explains Ida. "Taking a child into your home seemed like a good way of doing it. We just planned the agency, and what surprised us is how quickly it came through," reveals

■ Kilmer, David in 1977; with Ida early on (left); suburban contents, private school, typical weekend



Macdonald, Mitchell last year (left) and in 1976: from the signs of an adoptive child to a tangled thread of coincidence that led mother and daughter to find each other again

The story illustrates the dilemma of reunions for adoptive families

Ida, who had to drop out of a postgraduate course in chemistry to take care of their new child.

Kilmer puzzled by Kilmer's claim that she did not find out she was adopted until she was 27. "She knew when she was a teenager," she says. "Her friends told her. But maybe the full significance didn't sink in." Kilmer's father, meanwhile, says, "The mistake we made was in trying to say she's not adopted, but she's one of us and let's forget the whole thing and put it away somewhere, because we wanted her to be part of the family." Then he adds, "People are born. They're a life. They belong to nobody."

Kilmer's brother, David, expresses empathy for his parents. "There's a lot of fear there," he told Macdonald. "They're thinking, 'My push, are you going to lose half of me being replaced?' On top of that, you add the time component. They're very modest, very quiet people, and all of a sudden there are people knocking on their



door to seven in the morning, saying to take their picture. It's a lot to deal with. But it's all turned out better than you could have hoped for."

Ida is getting over her shock. "The thing is, I just phoned me and we had a good chat," she says. "I found her to be quite a nice person, and that made all the difference in the world to me. She assured me that there weren't going to be any big changes, that nobody's going to lose anything."

Mitchell also put in a call to Kilmer's biological father. She had her first conversation with Brad MacMath in 32 years. "It was very weird," says MacMath, 56, who runs a Toronto photo studio with his wife. "But there was no animosity." Last week, MacMath also met his daughter for the first time. "I was shocked," he says. "But it was very strange. We had no notion of the reunions we have in common. We didn't share the same, have the same clothes, the same little kitchen on our shoulders—our hearts."

In the excitement surrounding Kilmer's reunion with her birth mother, meeting her birth father almost seemed an afterthought. Trying to contact MacMath, Ted Barrington phoned Linda Miller, an old acquaintance from Don Mills—without realizing that she was MacMath's wife. "I'd thought Ted was dead for five years ago," Miller laughed. "The marriage only lasted six months. So yesterday he phoned me up out of the blue, because I'm the only photographer he knew, and he said, 'Have you heard of this Brad MacMath guy?'"

That, as it turns out, is just one in a trail of bizarre coincidences linking Kilmer to her past—often degrees of separation between Susan Anderson and the Netherland connection.

Kilmer's biological parents were both art students in Calgary when she was conceived. They moved to Toronto during the pregnancy and discussed settling down. "Oh yeah," sighs MacMath, "we had to go through all that. But we weren't communicating." He went back to Saskatchewan, then on to California. "I was trying to be an artist," he says, "and when she was conceived and so on, I just devoted myself from the whole situation. That was the last straw."

Mitchell, in a recent interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, says that her main concern at the time was to conceal her pregnancy from her parents. "The scandal was so intense," she recalls. "A daughter could do nothing more dramatic. You had to make what the situation was to be the least story." Mitchell's mother, however, now says, "If we had known she was expecting a baby, we would have helped. I'm sure we would have encouraged her to keep the baby, but we didn't know anything about it until several years later when she and Chuck separated and she was home and told us about it."

Mitchell remembers giving birth in a Toronto hospital, where "one of the barbers thought they did was they bound the breasts of mixed mothers to keep the milk from coming," she says. Complications, she adds, kept her in the hospital for 10 days with her child. During the early years after the adoption, Mitchell told the *Times*, she "worried constantly" about the child's health because her pregnancy diet had been "retrograde." In an interview on CBC *Newsweek's* Pamela Waller Hour—broadcast, by coincidence, on Feb. 29, 1994, Kilmer's 31st birthday—the singer explained that she had no recollection of Ida. "I didn't have a penny," she

said, "I had no money for diapers, or a room to take her to school. There was no career on the horizon. Three years later, I had a recording contract and a house and a car, but how could I see that in the future?"

In 1968, Mitchell's career began to take off. She won a Grammy for her album *Clouds*, and singer Judy Collins covered one of its songs, *Both Sides Now*, into a hit. Another cut, *Chelonia Moving*, would later inspire Bill and Hillary Clinton in naming their daughter. In 1970, Mitchell released *Ladies of the Canyon*, which featured such classic songs as *Big Yellow Taxi*, *Woodstock* and *The Circle Game*. The same year, she recorded *Blue*, an intimate excursion into love-loss and loss, which many consider her masterpiece.

Although Mitchell kept her secret from her parents for several years, and from the media for almost three decades, those close to her knew "It was very much part of her life," singer Murray McLaughlin told *Madison*. "I think she was always looking for the child." Another friend, Toronto music manager Bernie Miller, remembered being with her at the Mariposa Folk Festival about four years after Kilgore's birth. "There was a couple with a little girl wanting to speak to Joan. We was over and talked to the girl, who must have been 4 or 5, and afterwards Joan turned to me and said: 'That could be my daughter.' I will never forget that. She was obviously suffering tremendously."

Over five years, Mitchell made some quiet attempts to track down her daughter, without success. But while producing her album *Both Sides Now* (1969), she decided to ask about a tabloid report of a "lost child," and took her search public for the first time.

Kilgore, meanwhile, was already looking for her mother. She says a task, nearly five years for the Children's Aid Society to produce the adoption documents that she requested. Even then, the papers ofered non-identifying information, just dates and some telling but graphical details. A Joan Mitchell fan could have matched the profile to the singer with much trouble. But what finally led Kilgore to identify her birth mother was a tangled thread of coincidences winding all the way back to the birth of the Sixties counterculture.

The noise of events begins with Duke Redford. Now a Toronto CITY TV entertainment reporter, in 1964 he was writing and reading poetry at folk festivals. Redford moved into a Victorian rooming house on Harrow Street, and Mitchell, already pregnant, moved to across the hall. Most of the boarders were broke. "It was a very sad and lonely time for her," Redford says. "I remember Joan being a very private person. I would hear her singing in that beautiful voice of hers, strumming her guitar behind the closed door of her room."

One day, Redford's brother, John (now deceased), came by and gave Mitchell a couple of apples, a gesture that she never forgot. Years later, she met Redford at a concert and asked him to convey her thanks to his brother.

But to 1968, Redford recalls, Joan Mitchell and while both are studying at York University. "Never tell that to anybody," he told her, "but I lived in the same house as Joan Mitchell, she had a baby and nobody



Kilgore as a model: now that she is famous, handlers are avoiding her

COVER



The mystery of her adoption cast a growing shadow over her life

a package of information, including her birth date—and the fact that she had been raised by Kelly Dale. Before long, Gibb and her son were on a plane in Los Angeles, where they spent 19 days getting acquainted with the singer in her 50-million mansion.

In the Coloured Stage, a club that Redford co-owns, he found a note pinned to the bulletin board: "Hi Duke, it's Kilgore," the note read. "I wanted to see you today because I'm on my way to L.A. on March 13 to visit Joan. She remembers you and your brother and your kindness during her time of need. She couldn't believe that I had met you. She is my mother and she has sent me and my waitresses to visit her. Sorry I missed you and I will try again soon." That's the best he could find, says Kilgore's Gibb.

Being a collage-maker, musician and California dreamer, raised in the suburban conformity of a model family, Kilgore has come full circle. Adopted by show business, she is now entering a new circle game, a world where there are few secrets and too many lies.

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MOTHER AND CHILD REUNION

BY PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Roseanne Rosalind Wiseman always knew she would eventually search for her birth mother. The acclaimed journalist simply wanted to know—had always wanted to know—where she came from. Born in Regina and adopted as an infant into a middle-class Vancouver family, Rosanne, 55, has nothing but praise for her parents. Their love of music, in particular, she says, has been vital to her career. But finding her natural mother in 1994 added a powerful new dimension to her life. In fact, four sections on her 1996 CD, *Amnesia*—which won a Juno award for best mainstream pop album—are tributes to both families. “You really feel something in your gut when you see people who look like you,” says Rosanne. “I love my adoptive family very much, but I’m not like them in personality. When I met my mother and my [half] sisters, there was an instant chemistry. The way we communicate is very natural.”

A happy story—but not without twists. Rosanne's birth mother, who is of East Indian heritage and lives on Vancouver Island, had never revealed Rosanne's existence to her own family. She had never even told Rosanne's father, who died in 1977. Then, after her birth mother decided to tell her family and a reunion had taken place, a crisis hit Rosanne's adoptive family. Only a few weeks after the reunion, her adoptive mother was diagnosed with cancer. The illness progressed rapidly and there was no appropriate opportunity to share the discovery with her before she died a month later. Now, like many who have been through the process, Rosanne is quick to point out that reunions affect whole families, not simply two or three people. “It can be scary,” she says, “not a one-way thing.” She is also cautious about the risks of embarking on what can be a life-altering experience. “I knew I had to be prepared for whatever information came back to me—that she'd passed away, or didn't want to see me—and I'd have to accept whatever it was. I knew there might be rejection.”

A case in point is Rosemary Laughlin, one of the two sisters Rosanne grew up with. Also adopted, Laughlin never shared Rosanne's desire to meet her natural parents. Instead, her birth mother sought her out in Melville, Bit, where Laughlin, 38, lives with her husband and two children. The two were reunited about four years ago. But they have little in common, Laughlin says, and the relationship, which was initially cordial, has recently deteriorated. “My natural mother was very upset that I couldn't say that I loved her and missed her,” Laughlin explains. “But she was a stranger to me.” Jon Mitchell's dramatic story of loss and reunion has recently



Rosanne Rosalind Wiseman found her family through *Amnesia*

Birth parents and adoptees push for more openness

brought such tales to the forefront of public attention. But their appeal is universal. Most people, social workers and psychologists are finding, want to know at least the bare outlines of their genetic heritage. Many want to know much more. The birth of children, in particular, often provokes adoption to search for the natural grandparents. Some adoptees also nurture rich fantasies about birth families, and feel compelled to learn the facts about them and why they were given up. Often, there are discouraging obstacles, while the number of searches has surged sharply over the past decade, almost all provinces still keep their adoption records confidential. In general, most will only release identifying information if both the adoptee and a birth parent have voluntarily registered with the government. The reason, officials say, is to keep promises of privacy that were made to birth parents when they decided to give up their children. But pressure from adoptees and birth parents is growing, and the trend is clearly towards more openness. Last November British Columbia became the first province to open its adoption records, under new legislation, either the natural parent or the adopted child may apply for disclosure. They will only be refused if the other registers a no-disclosure or no-contact veto with the province's adoption registry.

Given the vacuum left by most government agencies, many searchers turn to other methods, especially as a way of spending



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up the process. Private search firms are becoming more popular, as are such well-established groups as Parent Finder, an organization that offers advice and search assistance to adoptees. And there is always word of mouth. New Brunswick country and western singer Julia Austin, 33, began an on-again, off-again search for his birth parents seven years ago. "It was just ending away at me," he recalls. "I wanted to do it but I was wondering what I'd find, what they'd think of me. It was like walking on eggshells." Austin's adoptive parents divorced when he was in Grade 1 and he has had virtually no contact with his adoptive mother since then. He was very close to his father, he says, and was dumbfounded when he learned, at 17, that he was adopted. After his father's death two years later, feeling disconnected from his adoptive family, he decided to take the name his birth mother had given him if it was one of the few details of his background that his father was able to tell him. Later, when his career began to take off, his adoptive had more say on local radio stations. Unknown to Austin, his birth mother and her family lived in Milton, a small town 50 km northeast of Fredericton where Austin is a well-known surname. A series of serendipitous connections through colleagues and their friends finally led Austin to his aunt, his mother's sister. "I was scared to death," Austin says of their first meeting. "We both broke down crying." Austin, who has grown close to his birth family, has no regrets about the way his life has gone. "If I hadn't been adopted, I probably never would have gotten to a point," he says, adding that his adoptive father strongly supported his singing and songwriting. And if he had searched while his father was alive, he would have worried about the heart he could cause. His father delayed telling him about the adoption, Austin says, for fear that his son would drift away. "But that would never have happened, not in a million years."

It is not unusual for children to wait until a parent dies before they learn their status, especially in sensitive cases. Douglas McCole, who lives in Richmond, Ont., was always able to deal with his daughter Michelle's intense desire to find her birth parents. But his wife had to struggle with the idea. "It hits you, not necessarily badly, but it is very emotional," he says of an adopted child's decision to search. "My wife agreed that she had the right, but she was afraid when the idea came up." Like many people, McCole says, his wife feared that blood reality would be thicker than water. "But she finally decided that her original objections were not right—she made that decision out of love." Still, their daughter waited until after her adoptive mother's death before seeking out—and finding—her birth family. And the tie is indeed a powerful one. Recently she changed her name to include her natural grandfather's maiden name, as well as the name her mother gave her when she was born. "It feels more balanced, more organic," says Zol. Dawn McCole Kessler, formerly Michelle McCole, a Toronto advocate of open adoption records and author of the 1993 book *Adoptive Ancestress*. "It's reclaiming the name I had when I was born," she says.

For those involved in "open" adoptions—an increasingly popular alternative—the challenges are very different. In open adoptions, birth parents choose the adoptive family and retain contact with them and the child. Details vary from family to family, but there are some basic guidelines that such unconventional models will become increasingly popular. Counselors emphasize, however, that open adoptions tend to change over time: some adoptive parents are disappointed when birth parents drift away, often after the first year. Other families may need occasional counseling to define appropriate boundaries between the birth parent and the adoptive family, such as how often a birth parent visits, what notice should be given,



Reasons: jazz pianist fell 'instant chemistry' with her birth family

and how other children in the family should be treated. Even so, most experts agree that children are the ultimate beneficiaries of such arrangements. "Scooter and I are the problem in adoption," says Cathy Austin, a social worker who helps arrange reunions for the Children's Aid Society in London, Ont. "Open adoptions eliminate some of the problems that we see in today's reunions."

Glen MacKinnon, a Calgary artist and step-at-home dad, is currently sold on the idea. His son, Louis, 6, and daughter, Natalie, 4,

were adopted through a private, not-for-profit agency that also helped the family set up a plan that allows them to have regular contact with their birth mothers. While one of the women visits daily after, the other drops by the family home about four times a year. In both cases, MacKinnon says, the children are clear on where they come from and they are equally clear on who their parents are. He believes they may feel confused about the situation at some point, however. "All their classmates will be living with their birth parents, but they won't be. I think they'll have questions." But while he views his family as a social experiment, he also believes it is a good one. "The old ways weren't terribly successful," he says. "This just seems healthier."

Intimately, most reunions about open adoptions seem to come from those who were raised in the system. Gary Stryker, a social worker, for one, believes that the presence of birth families might interfere with the formation of bonds in the new family. On the other hand, he says that openness once a child has reached adulthood is a good idea. "If I had found my mother in my teens," he says, "it might have upset my life. I'm not sure I would have been ready to deal with it."

But as the trend towards open adoption continues, experts such as Carol Lamb, program director at the Calgary-based placement agency Adoptus By Choice, believe that the benefits of such reunions should become a thing of the past. The exceptions are likely to be international adoptions during the first half of this decade. Canadians adopted more than 2,000 children per year from foreign countries. But in general, situations like the Joni Mitchell case will become much less common, Lamb says. "The international—whether it's in private or the public realm—just won't be necessary," she says. "And that's a good thing." □

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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS



His royal Elton-ness

In 1955, singer Elton John (left) introduced all the outrageous costumes that kept him in the spotlight. But a John has returned his 50th-birthday bash to style—red as John did in London late last month.

Down-and-out diary

Throughout her life, Pat Capone has moved between two vastly different worlds. As a mental patient, she was on the margins of society. Then, with the 1992 publication of her wrenching yet riveting memoir, *Upstairs in the Crazy House: The Life of a Psychiatric Survivor*, Capone was suddenly an acclaimed author. But celebrity did not keep her from poverty and its stigma and once again she found herself on the fringes. Believing that things were only getting worse for the poor in Ontario under Mike Harris's Tory government, she began keeping a journal of the indignities she faced. After an excerpt appeared in a Toronto weekly, *Pearson Books Canada* commissioned a book. With *Disappearing From the Poverty Line*, Capone, 47, once again shows that she can turn a tough life into a good read. But she hopes her new book will do more: "I want to counter the weird propaganda about the poor. Then people won't have to be ashamed of how they're living."



Shooting at bigger goals

There was pure joy at Memorial Auditorium in Kitchener, Ont., after Canada defeated the United States in sudden-death overtime to win the World Women's Hockey Championship on April 6. But even as the players celebrated and the fans cheered, Canadian Hockey officials were already making plans for the 1996 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan. They have an early choice for head coach: **Sharon Miller**, 33, who took a leave from the Calgary police force to guide this year's team. The tough job will be staying at the top, says **Glynis Peters**, manager of women's programs for Canadian Hockey. "The Americans are going to be really hungry for gold," says Peters, "and they are going to do everything they can to beat us."



At home on the ward

Three years ago, Canadian country singer **Paul Branniff** was working as a pediatric nurse in a Calgary hospital, changing bedpans and monitoring IV drugs. Now, he is recording his second CD in Nashville, Tenn., where he has lived for the last 15 months. Branniff's first CD, *The Cabin Before the Storm*, was an overwhelming success, selling more than 700,000 copies in North America and spawning two Top 5 hits on Billboard's country charts in 1996. *My Heart Has a History* and *I Do*. But while his music career has taken him away from nursing, the 35-year-old singer says he is still inspired by his former patients. "When you see these kids who are dealing with pain, fear and uncertainty every day," says Branniff, "and they are still full of the love of life, you start to look at things a little differently."

A love story with Harvard

It is, says **David Johnston**, "one of the most beautiful chapters in a wonderful love affair with a place that is not just a name but a person that has a personality." Last week, the former principal of McGill University in Montreal became the first non-American to be named to Harvard University's board of overseers. Johnston was a high school student in South St. Mary, Ont., when he accepted an offer to be in Harvard's Class of '92. But although his relationship with the Cambridge, Mass., university continues to evolve, his place in its history was immortalized long ago. An All-American backer player who was also on the school's football team, Johnston often went jogging with a classmate professor named **Ernie Segal**, who went on to write a best-selling novel called *Love Story* that included a minor character based on Johnston.

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They forget that once the story became public, it took another 30 years for the film to get any sort of justice."

For some, the story was horrific. One of the game players died before an actual court settlement—roughly \$100,000 each—was reached with the CIA in 1988, 11 years after the launch of the lawsuit. Seven other players who had been treated with Cameron's method later received \$500,000 each from the Canadian government, which had also funded Cameron's work (and which had done almost nothing to help the nine citizens live out until a 1994 episode of CBC's *The Fifth Deadly Sin* stirred up public outrage). Neither the CIA nor the Canadian government ever admitted any culpability in the matter. But the settlement confirmed that something terrible indeed had been inflicted on patients behind the grey limestone walls of Ravenscroft, the mansion that had once belonged to shipping magnate Sir Hugh Allan and had become the Allsop family estate.

What had happened was mind-boggling, in every sense of the word. Cameron believed he had found an overall cure for mental instability in the technique he described as "psychic driving." Patients' troubled minds could be wiped clean of their traumas and psychosis, or "depatterned," he claimed, and new, healthier attitudes instilled with the use of carefully repeated messages on tape recorders. It was an idea that caught the attention of the CIA, which had been scrambling to catch up to the global race to develop mind-control methods for use in the Cold War. Through a front called the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, the spy agency channelled funds to Cameron from 1967 to 1980. For the technique to be effective, it was first necessary to break down patients' psyches. Mea and women—suffering everything from postpartum depression to schizophrenia to leg pains diagnosed as psychosomatic—were subjected to a barrage of LSD injections and drug cocktails that left them terrified and disoriented. Many received electroshock therapy that grossly exceeded the normal voltage and frequency. They were forced to wear football helmets that were wired to tape recorders which captured a phrase or sentence for hours on end. Later, Cameron used insulin, barbiturates and other drugs to induce coma-like states through hypnosis at night, and played the taped messages while patients slept. Staging such scenes, while gruelling for most of the actors, meant walking a thin line, says director Wheeler (*Bye Bye Blues, The Diviners*). "When you have a horror scene with a roomful of people in pyjamas and foot ball helmets, it could easily have drifted into

black comedy," notes the 59-year-old film maker. "We had to be careful not to make a mockery of it." At the same time, he says, "it was very important not to present the patients as one-dimensional victims."

Nonetheless, all the actors knew that in real life, it was a particularly brutal form of torture: many patients were left mentally scattered and incontinent, and many lost their minds entirely. One Vancouverite, Linda MacDonell, lost all recollection of her first 36 years, including the birth of her five children. Another, successful Montreal businessman Louis Weintraub, who had been admitted for what would now be called panic attacks, emerged a broken man, with devastating economic and emotional after effects for his family.

LSD and massive doses of electroshock therapy



Peterson is a CIA-funded regimen for breaking down psyches

Their experiences, and those of other patients, have been used to create composite characters in *The Ship of Theseus*. For Peterson, best known for his role as Luke in the CBC series *Street Legal*, play *Sed*, one of the patients who is haunted by the destruction of a young woman, Nathalie (Quebec star Macha Grenier), whom he met in the hospital 25 years earlier. "It's going to use whatever facility he has left to atone for Nathalie's death," says Peterson. On set in a courtroom scene, Peterson, dressed in grey leathers and overcoat, shuffles slowly, his measured movements and bent posture conveying both defeat and dignity in spite of almost no dialogue.

What is most astonishing in retrospect is not that the events happened, but that they were allowed to happen. That film exists, and Collier's book, offer a host of explanations that there was insufficient regulation of psychiatric practices then, particularly regarding patients' right to "informed consent" for any treatment; that Cold War paranoia about Russia and China meant a public fascination with mind-control techniques;

that the stigma attached to mental illness, still a factor today, made it easier to accept the use of such methods; that the public opinion about curing disease, brought about by the success of antibiotics and the safe vaccine for polio, could extend to an eagerness for mental alteration. Not least was the character of the Scottish-born Cameron himself, who was born of the Allan family in 1904 and died in 1987. An esteemed psychiatrist, he was one of the doctors sent to determine whether Nixon was criminal. Rudolf Steiner was merely competent to stand trial, and had been a self-ed reformer of asylums at a time when mental illness was still considered a sin in some quarters. In the work of the film, Leon Powell, 55, who portrayed Cameron, says, "I was

to present the man not as a Mephistophelean monster but as a charismatic leader whose isolation and single-minded pursuit of his theory led him on a disastrous path. "Obviously, the audience comes to a point where they think, 'Why didn't somebody stop him?'" says Powell. "So I really had to show him as an engaging person, a professional with a good bedside manner, someone who made others believe in what he was doing. After all, he didn't have any barriers around his hospital." Powell adds that he also tries to convey the heights and depths that Cameron must have experienced. "This character is like a missing Link. It touches on every human condition. It has all the basics of a good Shakespearean play."

Vancouver-based actor Michael Cavanaugh, 45, who plays fictionalized ex-prisoner Ruth, is concerned that he represent her character as a dull or naïve as possible. Ruth is perpetually alone, confused and often insecure to herself, yet is the most resilient of the characters. "You have to convey the idea that there's more to these people than a medical or mad memories, that they add up to more than their case histories at the hospital," Grenier says.

The drama closes with a courtroom scene in which the camera pans the three men and women and are joyfully laughing each other. During the first take, Cavanaugh, as Ruth, spontaneously begged the defence lawyers making an angry noise. It was a gesture that cracked up everyone on the set. But when they reshot the scene, director Wheeler told her to do it again. Cameron, who was at the trial, said that he had not seen exactly what a woman like Ruth would have done. "She is someone who will probably never get better. But I think the hope in this story lies in the fact that these people, despite their difficulties, pursued their dignity and won. It's a black mark in our history, but I'm glad the story is being told." □

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Barbadian buddies

Two immigrants contemplate their loves and losses

THE ORIGIN OF WAVES

By Austin Clarke
(McClintock & Stewart, 205 pages, \$19.99)

Young Street, which begins in Toronto and meanders in several loops to the north, is reputedly the world's longest thoroughfare. In Austin Clarke's new novel, *The Origin of Names*, it's also the longest time. Set in the mid-1950s summer, when the Young Street Expressway is under construction, the novel follows a young, impoverished clerk, Roseville, to the edge of Lake Ontario. A black immigrant from Barbados who has lived in the city for many decades, Tim has never gotten used to the lack of transience in Canadian life. But as the day the novel opens, Roseville is about to leave the street. Trudging along through this white, raftiled world, Tim runs into John, his best boyhood friend, whom he has not seen for 50 years. The two retire to a house by the bay and plunge into hours of conversation. In the end, Clarke finds a link of shared culture.

Chloe, en route to Canada from Barbados in 1965, has long been the country's outstanding chronicler of the West Indian immigrant experience. In seven previous novels and five short-story collections (1983's *There Are No Elders in the House* is the most recent), the Toronto-based author has often reflected on the myriad tensions of souls whose allegiances are divided between two places. The *Origins* of Thorne's work lie in the immigrant, but also in a particular Canadian, and finally a Jewish, Jewishness that suggests that the immigrant's travails need not end in unmitigated bitterness.

The new novel is very much about the passage of time. Like their 60-year-old creator, Tina and John are approaching old age, and their meeting offers them a last chance to express the truth about their lives. The introverted Tina, it turns out, has never recovered from the loss of his lover, Lang, a young Chinese-Canadian woman who died 15 years earlier. And John, who is visiting Toronto from his home in the United States, is hiding his own fears and failures behind the appearance of success. In a way, these two stories are facets of a single character.

and it is possible to read *The Origins of Strife* as an examination of how the struggle between secret grief and outward worldliness can define a human being.

The book contains some of Clarke's best writing ever: his evocation of the Barbados beaches where the two friends once sat day-dreaming—wishing the great combers that arrive out of a distance from which the promise of their young lives seems to be beckoning—is exquisite and moving. But best of all is the subtle way Clarke can, in



Clark's natural collections on the margins of time

single passage, flip tearfully from memory to the present and back again. His method avoids any laborious setting up of scenes, and offers a strong rebuke to the narrators that still dominate so much Caroline fiction.

The book has its flaws. Tim's obsession with killing ants in his house is neither convincing nor convincing. And Clarke works too hard at arousing pathos over the death of Lang. But in the end, the vision of these two men falling into each other's arms in a Toronto snowstorm is indelible. Young Street will never again recall the same scene.

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Young Heroes To Campaign

Allan Fotheringham

A day in the life of the asylum on the Hill

It is 2:30 in the House of Commons, the afternoon sun in the beautiful stained glass windows high above the stage chamber, rather like a master cathedral in rural France.

David Anderson, the transport minister from Victoria, is one of the few backbench cabinet ministers who has been on his seat, he like most hold most these days having grown a beard, giving the world impression—that they don't know—that their faces appear upside down.

John Howard, rather large around the middle now, an ex-Winnipeg open-mouth radio host who has gone nowhere in Ottawa as a Liberal MP, waddles down the carpet with the air of someone who is a member of the most exclusive Old Boys Club in the land. There are perhaps 35 members, some in shorts, in the public gallery.

It is 2:30 and Doug Young, the recently married pit bull of the Grit camp, appears—crossed in his seat and white shirt like a Bay Street lawyer. Seven minutes later—with an audibly Parliamentary Hill security guard monotonous—are now in short sleeves, the signal that summer (two months of hard shelling) has arrived in Ottawa.

It is 2:35 and Gilles Duceppe, the new outrageous leader of Her Majesty's laughable Liberal Opposition, rises on his hind legs and tells the Prime Minister, just back from Washington, that there is something terribly wrong with the incomprehensible matter of his-panic boards in Quebec.

The Prime Minister, as if everything else mattered then—the key to the travel guide that is Question Period—and then and there is to all prime ministers do. Duceppe, who wants to break up the country, raises his voice in reply knowing this will make the gen dictable (and require) sound bite in his province that night.

It is 2:37 and barely one-third of the Liberal benches in what is a majority government are filled. On the Bloc Quebecois side, it is about the same. The Commons is two-thirds empty.

Duceppe, the former Marxist who infiltrated a bidirectional hospital workers staff to be an organizer, a union, finally succeeds. Women's Minister Rosemary DiMenna, who persists in that silly curlew-judas harness that makes her look like Marian Brandt playing Jeanne Crozier, waves repeatedly to a page for a glass of water.



The most-stylish MP present, from the Bloc Québécois front bench, made her gesture from a sheet in her hand with point as large as a telephone. The PM, sweating another day in role so much that he seems bored, sees that is just another reason why the hon. members opposite will always be an opposite.

It is now 2:35 and Doug Young seems to be asleep—or pretending that he is asleep. The outraged Minister from Fraser Valley West, Randy White, is trying about the actions of serial killer Clifford Olson applying for release from prison. Justice Minister Allan Rock, as usual changing the subject as a cabinet minister, says that a man had come to see him whose 15-year-old daughter had been sexually assaulted.

To Rock's left on the front bench, fellow cabinet ministers Mary Clancy from Halifax (without her sunglasses this day) and Stacey's Duane Meleau sit with their arms slowly crossed. The hon. member for Fraser Valley West shouts "Bolshevik!"

The Speaker of the Commons rises and, in the tones of a Baptist minister in Weyburn, Sask., says "My colleagues, of course I don't always hear what goes on in the House. But would the hon. member from Fraser Valley West please withdraw that remark?" The hon. member of course does, not meaning a word of it. Below the Speaker's chair two bullies—one male, one female in black lawyer robes—work on their laptop computers, recording what only God and Her Warden know. Four other Liberal women in the back bench are in red. There is one torba seen in the House. Peter Manning, with his teenage haircut, is missing this day.

It is now 2:40 and Yves Lussier is attempting to bark. Finance Minister Martin, now the most confident man in the country knowing that he is going to be prime minister soon—sooner if the Right Hon. Charest is elected as quite possible in Saint-Maurice in June—just waves his glasses in derision and says, "My officials are standing and saying" and blah blah blah.

It is now 2:40 and Doug Young with his mouth open seems to be choking. Yes, we are in the Reform, not only, they belong, they belong to the Bloc. Alfonso Gagliano, son of a Ted Weatherill, head of the Canada Labor Industrial Board, who has been discovered as a great fan of \$7000 laborers for two in Guy Pearce.

It occurs there were 17 glasses of wine consumed at one such this-side and things look nasty. The large and florid minister of labor the Bloc, Alfonso Gagliano, says, "As soon as we have ascertained the facts"—blah blah blah. As the laughable "deputy prime minister" Sheila Copps must present, Mr. Charest has filed her chair (rest to him—for TV reasons—with an MP who has a face of a darker color).

It is 2:50 and Duceppe rises. As they introduce, in the vast gallery, the "distinguished visitors" from the Republic of Lebanon and some from Tunisia, the usual Standing O is given. In the back row of the Reform, no one stands up. Welcome to Canada.



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